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JULY1994
VOLUME XXV, NUMBER 7

California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

The June primary 7

California Journal's *in-depth coverage of the "no-show" election, which attracted the lowest turnout of any gubernatorial primary in California history. Included are analyses of all contests for the U.S. Senate, constitutional office, and wrap ups of primaries for all congressional, state Senate and Assembly districts. Also included is an analysis of the fate of various ballot measures.*

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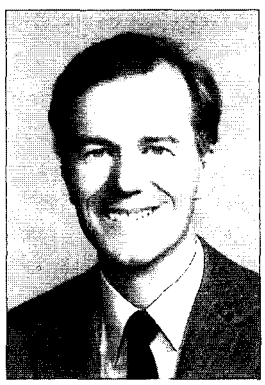

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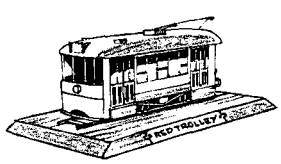

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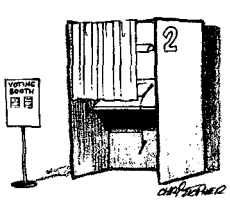

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Up Front

UMBRAGE

Self-promo of the month. In an election season filled with hyperbole, Senator Tom Hayden of Santa Monica, a gadfly gubernatorial candidate, sent out a bio that quotes *The Atlantic* magazine as saying, "Tom Hayden changed America." It also quotes Richard Goodwin, a former staffer for John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, as saying that Hayden "without even knowing it, inspired the Great Society."

Humanitarian of the month: Republican gubernatorial candidate Ron Unz for his proposal to abolish the workers' comp system. If employees want to be covered for on-the-job injuries, Unz said, let 'em buy their own insurance. They could afford it, he insisted, because employers would no longer be required to buy expensive workers' comp coverage and trickle the savings down to employees. Sure.

Bill load. The folks in the legislative bill room probably won't be sending Christmas cards to Senator Tom Campbell (R-Palo Alto) this year. Campbell authored a bill recently that may have broken all records for heft — 2985 pages. By comparison, last year's budget bill was contained in 467 pages. Campbell's SB 1827 eliminates the Franchise Tax Board and the Board of Equalization and replaces them with a new Department of Revenue. Taxpayers probably won't be very happy with the bill for this bill, either; at approximately $20 a page to get a bill into print, SB 1827 cost $59,700. And that's just for the first printing; it has to be printed again if amended. Campbell, who said the bill text was provided by the Department of Finance, immediately introduced a "summary bill," SB 2137, which could take policy amendments. Then, if the summary bill is approved, SB 1827 would only have to be printed one more time. There has to be that much bill text, because each section that alters the FTB or BOE must be totally rewritten, said Campbell.

Short sheet. Want to save money in Corrections' budget? Assemblyman Paul Horcher (R-West Covina) has an idea: Instead of building all those new prisons, just double the capacity of existing facilities. How, you ask? By having prisoners share a bed. No, it's not what you think. Horcher wants prisoners to sleep in shifts. Or perhaps, kimonos. No, it's not what you think there, either. It is, however, a jailer's nightmare. Imagine half of Folsom's population awake and on the prowl at all times. Or a double-loaded cell during a lockdown. The proposal, embodied in AB 77X, hit a brick wall in Assembly Public Safety last month.

Crack habit. Senator Ruben Ayala (D-Chino) was trying to round up votes in Senate Revenue and Taxation recently for his SB 1329, which would grant sales and use tax exemptions to help fund a proposed veterans' memorial. But committee members were having a hard time swallowing the $150 million in lost revenue, and the bill died. Grumped Ayala: "I'm surprised that we're quibbling over $150 million. That much falls through the cracks of this place every day."

Blythe spirit. Yessir, the priorities in this state are, well, certainly priorities. Just check with the folks at Palo Verde Unified School District in Blythe. The district, which has about 4000 students, has been losing teachers of late to another area employer that also hires instructors. No, not a parochial school. Palo Verde has been losing teachers to Corrections. At least eight district teachers have left for positions at Ironwood and Chuckwalla state prisons, which were built side-by-side in the desert some 15 miles east of Blythe. The situation is frustrating for Dr. Norman Guith, superintendent of the Palo Verde district, who says that the defectors equal 5 percent of his district's 158-strong corps of instructors. The district hires about 15 teachers a year, and any loss exacerbates the problem of finding replacements. Why are teachers leaving? Because the prisons pay more and have smaller class sizes, Guith says. A starting teacher makes $24,000 a year in the Palo Verde system, and class size averages about 30 students. Guith says teachers can make more plying their trade in the prison instructional program, where their classes may contain only 12 to 15 inmates. Guith supports putting criminals behind bars, but he laments the "resource gap" between schools and prisons. "Our kids go to school in old classrooms, and some are in portables," he says, adding that no small number of Palo Verde kids are housed in buildings left over from the World War II Desert Training Center. The prisons, especially Ironwood, are brand new. Guith also notes that the prison has a $100,000 budget for its libraries, while his district must limp along on an $8000 budget. "We spend $4200 a year to educate one of our students," he says, explaining that the prison spends six times that amount to house an inmate. And the $216 million cost to build Ironwood, he says, "would have built 30 elementary schools, including the land." Pogo was right, of course.

Huff this. Hey, Michael Huffington, if you're such an important, hot-shot *macher* of a congressman that you can spend yourself into the Senate after less than one term in the House, how come you lost — *lost* — Santa Barbara County to a weak contender like Bill Dannemeyer? Isn't Santa Barbara your home county, or didn't you stop there long enough to figure that out?

PAC of the Month: Honor goes to "Friends of Nobody," which qualified as a committee in late May and is located in Hopland, Mendocino County. The "candidate" it backed? "None of the above" on the Green Party gubernatorial ballot. Laugh ye not. Its candidate won.

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Tragedy in the stacks. Ah, those harrowing, awful, damaging, slash-and-burn, unnecessary and hateful budget cuts. Seems now the venerable state library has had to terminate its subscription to *Playboy* Magazine. The library has maintained Hefner's mag lo these many years at the express behest of, uh, members of the Legislature. But, hey, it's tough times and everybody's gotta suffer.

Third house gospel blues. Contract lobbyist Irv Taplin recently filed an amendment to his registration form, announcing that he was getting out of the biz. Scrawled across the bottom of the form, Taplin wrote: "I retired ... I ain't going to lobby no more no more." Taplin's sole listed client for 1993-94 was Pacific Power.

Second-hand Whoppers. The Assembly last month adopted HR 39 by Assemblyman Byron Sher (D-Palo Alto), which calls upon the state attorney general to join with 16 other attorneys general to urge fast-food restaurants to ban smoking on their premises. That didn't sit too well with Assemblyman Gil Ferguson (R-Newport Beach), who labeled as "fraudulent" the notion that second-hand smoke was dangerous. Ferguson then suggested that the resolution ought to ban the cooking of hamburgers, which Ferguson said emits an even more dangerous smoke.

"A country is considered the more civilized the more the wisdom and efficiency of its laws hinder a weak man from becoming too weak or a powerful one too powerful."

— Primo Levi

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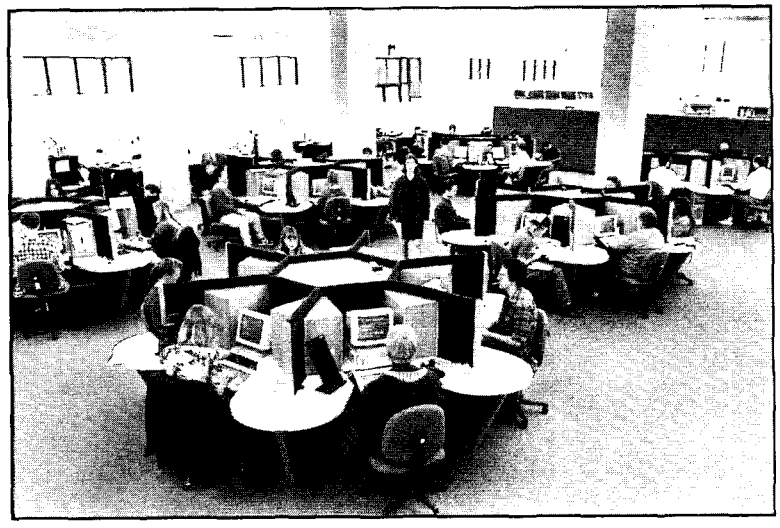

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Two Cents Worth

COMMENTARY

The disappearing electorate

The dismal voter turnout must make even the most cynical observer take pause. Only a third of those registered to vote managed to make it to the polls on election day. And of those who are actually eligible to vote, less than a quarter are making the decisions for everyone. It's been a dozen years since even half of the registered voters made it to the polls.

The reasons for this mass exodus of participation from the greatest democracy in the world are varied and complex. The Field Institute estimates that at least 40 percent of those who don't vote just don't care. Politics is no concern to them. They aren't registered, they're poorly educated and are disproportionately Asian and Latino. They'd rather watch television, although not news programs. Another 25 percent of the non-voters are what Field calls "contented apathetic." They may be educated and registered but, by and large, they just don't think government makes much difference to their lives. Still another 25 percent are alienated from the system. They don't trust government and they don't think it matters who is elected. They may have voted in the past, and may vote again, but something has to motivate them to get to the polls.

The last 10 percent have been, in some way, disenfranchised by the system. They are people who want to vote but can't because they aren't registered. They may have become interested only in the last month of a campaign — after the 29-day registration period has ended — or they've recently moved. Certainly the rules should be changed to accommodate this last group.

Although there's been a lot of hand-wringing about the failure of the citizenry to do its civic duty, a number of studies over the years have eased our pain on this subject. Those studies showed that the people who didn't vote had opinions that were pretty much the same as those who did. So those who actually voted served as a proxy for the rest.

But it's hard to believe that's still true in California. Exit polls taken on election day show the voting population is drastically different than the population as a whole. The average age of the voting population is more than 50; and people over 60, who make up 20 percent of the population, account for 30 percent of the electorate. The minority population accounts for 45 percent of all residents and about 30 percent of the eligible electorate (citizens 18 and older), but only 20 percent of all voters in recent statewide primaries. Those who voted were older, whiter and wealthier than most Californians. They made choices that might have benefited themselves, but did little to help those who need government more.

It's hard to believe that these demographic shifts don't matter for things like school bonds, where about 35,000 votes (or less than .2 percent of the electorate) made the difference between success and failure. And what kind of mandate can any officeholder claim when he or she, in fact, has the support of such a small group of citizens. Pete Wilson got the votes of only 6.2 percent of the eligible voters, and Kathleen Brown had the allegiance of just 5.5 percent. That isn't enough support for anyone to claim to represent the will of the people.

And in electoral terms, it makes the politics of division — splitting off your own small piece of an already tiny electorate — infinitely more attractive than leadership, which might benefit greater numbers. Of course, as politicians play to the fragments, still more people feel alienated.

And so it goes.

— Richard Zeiger

May 1993 $3.95
California
Independent analysis of politics and government JOURNAL

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Media Marketing (916) 452-3242

Cover design by
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CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts and Urban Affairs Abstracts. *California Journal* (ISSN00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $59.00; Corporations and Associations, $95.00; Special Individual rate, $42.00. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. Telephone (916) 444-2840. Copyright 1994 by Information for Public Affairs, Inc., Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816.

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The June elections

Dreadful turnout marks the 1994 primary

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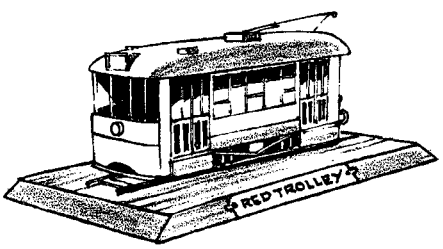

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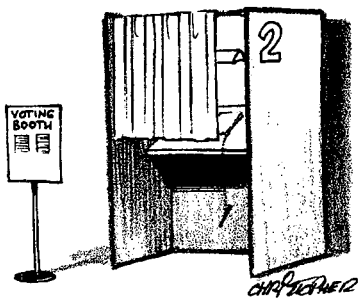

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Illustration by Christopher

CALIFORNIA EXTINCT SPECIES

The 1994 primary may have propelled Pete Wilson and Kathleen Brown, *et al*, into various November finals, but the election as a whole is summed up by what could be the three anchors of a new Abbott and Costello infield:

"Who's that?" "Who knows?" and "Who cares?"

As a symbol of the Republic's health, last month's primary was pure bad news, and the most stunning indicator did not appear on the slate of winners and losers. It surfaced, instead, on the secretary of state's semi-official canvas of votes: Only about 38 percent of California's registered voters bothered to go to the polls, including absentee voters. That abysmal turnout was a nadir for California politics and established a new standard for "dreadful," eclipsing the previous rump mark of 40.45 percent for gubernatorial primaries set in 1986. It was even below the secretary of state's own prediction. As few as one-quarter of the state's *eligible* voters may have cast ballots, despite the fact that the election itself was one of the most interesting in the past 20 years. Even more ominous, the turnout underscored the growing gulf between the state's electorate and its overall population. Although the state is becoming younger and more ethnically diverse, voters remain white and middle-aged. Even in the face of universally recognized problems, the young and the non-white are tuned out and turned off.

For those who cared, the election featured wide-open races for six of California's eight statewide constitutional offices; lieutenant governor, secretary of state, controller, treasurer, insurance commissioner and superintendent of public instruction all were without an incumbent. In addition, the race for governor featured spirited primaries on both sides. And there were contests for U.S. Senate, for all four Board of Equalization posts and for 152 congressional and legislative positions.

With so few Californians paying attention, however, the election once again stressed the power of money. Candidates for the two glitz jobs — governor and U.S. Senate — set the pace for what *Sacramento Bee* political editor John Jacobs termed "the $100 million obscenity." Money dumped into a television ad campaign brought Republican Michael Huffington from the obscurity of a Santa Barbara congressional seat to the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate, and helped shave 16 points off incumbent Democrat Dianne Feinstein's once commanding 23-point lead in the polls. Republican gubernatorial upstart Ron Unz spent $2 million in a quixotic bid to oust Pete Wilson, and his investment paid off in more than a third of the GOP vote against a sitting governor.

On the Democratic side, Treasurer Kathleen Brown's 14-point victory over Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi reflected her financial edge. Brown shoveled $6 million into her campaign in 1994, triple the fodder poured into the race by Garamendi. Democratic Senator Tom Hayden, the third gubernatorial contender, had no money at all and finished far behind Brown and Garamendi.

With few exceptions, the influence of money rippled down the slate. Democrats Phil Angelides (treasurer), Kathleen Connell (controller) and Art Torres (insurance commissioner), and Republican Chuck Quackenbush (insurance commissioner) had it and blitzed the state with last-week television campaigns that swamped their underfunded opponents. So did Delaine Eastin, the only well-heeled contender for superintendent of public instruction who finished

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first on a slate of a dozen candidates. Only Republican Tom McClintock (controller) and Democrat Tony Miller (secretary of state) knocked off foes with more money.

But the amount of money candidates were willing to lavish on campaigns stood in stark contrast to the mood of the people when it came to spending on the state itself. While office-seekers binged inside the Obscenity Zone, those ordinary citizens who managed to find their way into a voting booth shot down four bond measures, including crucial legislative proposals to pay for damage from the Northridge earthquake and for schools, colleges and universities (see story, page 17). Even local measures, designed to bolster law-enforcement, went down.

No amount of money, however, could help Democratic Assemblywoman Vivien Bronshvag of Kentfield, the only incumbent to lose a primary. Bronshvag, a rookie who had built a reputation for imperious behavior and who had been lampooned by local media, was narrowly defeated by Kerry Mazzoni of Novato. She blamed her defeat on negative publicity in her home county of Marin.

Finally, for veteran Capitol watchers, the '94 primary marked the passing from the political scene of several longtime legislative warhorses, among them Democrats David Roberti and Garamendi. For a time in the mid-1980s, Roberti and Garamendi were one-two in the Senate — pro tem and majority leader — a "partnership" that ended when Garamendi tried to orchestrate a coup against Roberti. Also gone from the Assembly are statewide primary losers Democrats Rusty Areias (controller), Gwen Moore (secretary of state) and Burt Margolin (insurance commissioner), and Republican Stan Statham (lieutenant governor).

—A.G.Block

US Senate

Key: D = Democrat; R = Republican; AI = American Independent; L = Libertarian; P = Peace and Freedom; G = Green; * = incumbent; 🔥 = hot race; winners in **bold**; (#) = percent of the vote, rounded to nearest whole number.

Andromidas (D)	283,382	(14)
Feinstein (D)*	**1,548,939**	**(74)**
O'Dowd (D)	258,395	(12)
Brown (R)	33,624	(2)
Dalichau (R)	54,806	(3)
Dannemeyer (R)	525,063 (29)	
Huffington (R)	**998,452**	**(55)**
Squires (R)	189,763	(11)
Meeuwenberg (AI)	**16,909**	**(100)**
Boddie (L)	**12,868**	**(100)**
Barron (P)	**3,306**	**(71)**
Hampshire (P)	1,380	(29)
Blong (G)	**8,525**	**(53)**
Smith (G)	3,652	(23)
None of the above (G)	4,038	(25)

Michael Huffington had been the Republican nominee for less than a week when things started becoming rude. Reporters started asking impertinent questions about Huffington's income tax payments, and they wouldn't take "none of your business" for an answer.

Welcome to the big league.

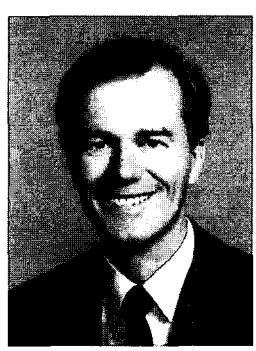
The one-term multi-millionaire has had things pretty much his own way to this point. Pour enough money into a Santa Barbara congressional district — a place that became your legal home only months before the election — promise you only wanted to serve the folks in your new home town, elbow a long-term incumbent out of the way, and before you know it you're a rising star in the GOP.

Okay, so you discovered that a first-term minority congressman doesn't have much clout. Only one thing to do. You've still got some more millions, so why not run for the U.S. Senate, where even first-termer are treated well?

Feinstein

Which is just what Huffington started to do after only a few months in office. So the folks in Santa Barbara were a little frosted — it became one of the few counties he lost — but there was money enough to push away right-wing perennial Bill Dannemeyer and novice Kate Squires and even to drop two-year incumbent Democrat Dianne Feinstein a notch or two in the polls.

This running for statewide office was pretty easy. Hire some talent, run commercials knocking Feinstein for her vote for the Clinton tax plan, say she's soft on crime because she paroled some people more than a decade ago, and that maybe there was something wrong with the fact that she didn't pay any state taxes for three of the last 20 years. Keep reporters at arms length by talking on the phone for no more than a minute or two and make it difficult for them even to get a copy of your schedule. As for free TV, who needs it, you can pay for what you need. Besides, television can, at best, handle one race at a time and all of them were watching the race for governor.



Huffington

But now the election is over. You've captured 55 percent of the primary vote and suddenly, Feinstein is wondering why *you* didn't pay any taxes in California even though your wife and children lived here, and those pesky reporters want to know if you're going to show copies of your tax returns. After all, you knew about Feinstein because she, like most high-level political figures these days, make her returns public.

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Nuts to that stuff.

For new political comet Huffington, the length of time his star burns bright might depend on just how well he handles such predicaments. Will it be possible for him to maintain the same "only-on-paid-TV" political stance that has gotten him his far? Or will the scrutiny of a full-scale statewide campaign reveal flaws that have so far remained hidden?

Dannemeyer

Despite being considered the front-runner for most of the primary, Huffington remains an enigma to most of the electorate and that press corps that will be covering the campaign.

"This campaign is going to be about what two candidates have done. They both went to Washington at the same time," notes Feinstein campaign manager Kam Kuwata. "Which one has done anything? We have tangible things that we've done and we've delivered. What's Huffington's accomplishment? A back pain study and trying to increase deductions for charitable contributions?"

Well, almost. He did introduce a measure to allow those who don't itemize deductions to write-off contributions to charity anyway. And he did have a bill to add Morrow Bay to the priority list of the National Estuary Program, and there is a bill that would disallow deductions for advertising tobacco products. None has gotten out of committee.

On the other hand, Feinstein by all accounts, has made an unusually quick start in the Senate, winning a seat on the Appropriations Committee, winning her fight to add a ban on assault weapons to a major crime bill, and finally getting a new desert protection bill out of the Senate. But Feinstein is in the Senate, where even first-termers get some respect. And Democrats have been working hard to bolster her, knowing that she would have to run for re-election after only two years.

Huffington campaign manager Ken Kachigian believes that Feinstein's record gives Huffington something to shoot at. "If the voters like the Clinton tax bill, if they like the desert bill ... then she'll win. If not, we will," he said. "By the time this is over, she's going to be defined as a conventional liberal. He's going to be defined as an unconventional, moderate Republican."

Kachigian thinks the carpetbagger argument won't fly. "I hope she spends a million bucks on that. They guy said he came to California because he loves our state. How do you fault the guy for that?"

And as for working with the press, Kachigian concedes that Huffington has a few things to learn. "Statewide campaigns are new," he said. "He comes from a congressional campaign, but big-time Senate campaigns are different. He's getting used to the process. It doesn't mean he's not prepared, it's just something new."

But Huffington's newness to California politics is also a disadvantage. Shortly after the primary, the Feinstein campaign rolled out a list of prominent Republicans, including Peter Ueberroth, who were endorsing the Democrat for re-election. If Huffington hasn't had the time to build up a cadre of long-time supporters, he at least has the money to buy the services of others. And that, say other Republicans, is a blessing all around. Not only will he have the resources to mount a full-fledged campaign against Feinstein, but he will free up Republican money that can now go to the Wilson re-election effort or into congressional and legislative races. And he will force Feinstein to spend on her own election, rather than giving money to other Democrats.

Senate Republican Leader Ken Maddy, while acknowledging that Huffington has "no base" in the state, says he's the "best thing that's happened to the Republicans this year. He will spend his own money. Win, lose or draw, he will play a significant role in elections this year."

— *Richard Zeiger*

Governor

Brown (D)	**1,050,388**	**(48)**
Calney (D)	20,100	(1)
Garamendi (D)	719,069	(33)
Hayden (D)	302,035	(14)
Pineda Jr. (D)	54,246	(2)
Trip (D)	30,059	(1)
D'Arrigo (R)	40,787	(2)
Hart (R)	41,635	(2)
Unz (R)	657,787	(34)
Wilson (R)*	**1,178,622**	**(61)**
McCready (AI)	**18,017**	**(100)**
Rider (L)	**13,048**	**(100)**
La Riva (P)	**4,392**	**(100)**
Lewallen (G)	2,771	(16)
Ogle (G)	2,824	(17)
Selawsky (G)	3,529	(21)
None of the above (G)	**7,780**	**(46)**

Brown

When state Treasurer Kathleen Brown began putting together the pieces for her run for governor last year, the conventional wisdom said there was almost no need to even have a primary. Brown, the daughter of one former governor and the sister of another, had the pedigree, and seemed to have the smarts, the savvy and the money to go with it. Although the very visible state insurance commissioner, John Garamendi, was gearing up to run against her, the only person, it seemed, with even less to worry about in the primary than Brown was Governor Pete Wilson, who looked to be running unopposed.

One year, and about $20 million later, last year's conven-

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Senator Bill Lockyer Senator Quentin Kopp
Assemblymember Ross Johnson
Denny Carpenter

Sponsors:

Anheuser-Busch Companies
Bank of America
C.S. First Boston
California Beer & Wine Wholesalers Association
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California Defense Counsel
California Medical Association
California Motor Car Dealers Association
California Teachers Association
The Chevron Companies
Connerly & Associates
EXXON
The Irvine Company-Ken Khachigian
Nelson & Lucas Communications
Pacific Lumber-Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Company
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Senator Ralph Dills
Shell Oil Company
Southern California Edison
Wendt-Loper Government Relations

Patrons:

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California Association of Highway Patrolmen
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California Dental Association
California Independent Public Employees Legislative Council
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Johnson & Johnson
Nossaman Guthner Knox & Elliot
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CAPITOL FOCUS

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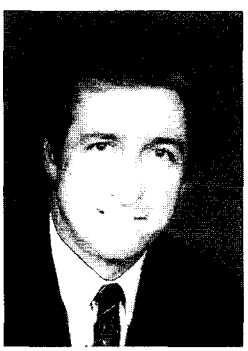
tional wisdom has become this year's political fact, but not quite in the manner anticipated. Brown won, but her image as heir-apparent was smudged by a series of miscues that will provide the GOP with ample fodder for the fall. Wilson won, but had to withstand a $2 million-plus primary campaign by political neophyte Ron Unz, which provided yet another reminder of Wilson's personal unpopularity.

Wilson

Brown's victory over Garamendi, and the late-entering state Senator Tom Hayden, was largely the result of what political technicians describe as her "structural advantages". Advantage one was a recognizable name, as Brown re-stoked the warmer images of her father, former Governor Pat Brown, while muffling the less likeable specter of her brother, former Governor Jerry Brown. Advantage two was money. Brown salted away millions in contributions from bond houses early on, and padded her total with millions more, guaranteeing a presence on television when it counted. Advantage three was gender. Brown consistently outpolled Garamendi among Democratic women by greater than two-to-one, and she relished reminding audiences that the race was "four men, and Kathleen Brown."

Brown's inherent advantages enabled her to weather a sequence of missteps and misfires that might have undone a less well-positioned candidate. Her cheery ambiguity on issues led to charges she was a lightweight on policy, a view magnified by her flip-flop on the North American Free Trade Agreement and the squishiness of her long-form policy presentations. A misdirected attack on Wilson for not stopping the release of serial rapist Melvin Carter earned Brown media scorn for being uninformed about the law, although the attack did get enough of Wilson's attention to cause the governor to run a counterattack ad. The arrival of veteran campaign guru Clint Reilly this spring brought Brown a re-tooled message spotlighting the economy, but did little to stop the hemorrhaging, as her new "one million new jobs" pledge was derided for actually low-balling most economic forecasts.


Hayden

Garamendi's campaign tried mightily to capitalize on Brown's mistakes, sending out a blizzard of snide faxes at every turn. In a state of more than 30 million, faxes to reporters are no substitute for lots of money to spend on TV ads. Garamendi's fund raising lagged well behind Brown's throughout the campaign, and his entire schedule seemed designed to guarantee he'd stay that way. When a risky $1 million ad buy during the Winter Olympics fizzled, Garamendi embarked on a series of "work days," succeeding in working a different job in all 58 counties. While the work days were a great populist gimmick in theory, the practical effect was to keep Garamendi off the fund-raising phone. While he tantalized supporters and opponents with talk of a large infusion of his own money, when it finally showed up, the $500,000 loan was too little, too late. Despite consistently running better against Wilson than his rival, Garamendi never got closer than 14 points behind Brown, and wound up losing by 15.

The one event in the Democratic race which threatened to upend the maddening predictability of the campaign was the surprise entry of Hayden in February. Reinventing himself as a champion of campaign-finance reform, Hayden sought the role of liberal conscience for the campaign. His self-imposed $94 limit on contributions kept him from buying anything other than cable television, but he made good use of radio talk shows and other free media to present his case. His final tally of 14 percent was about what most expected him to pull, and the most tangible practical effect of his campaign was to keep Brown under 50 percent in the primary.

On the Republican side, Wilson's cruise to the nomination hit a few swells in March with the entry of conservative software magnate Ron Unz. Unz entered the race in March, armed with a high IQ, a campaign team full of conservative Wilson-haters, and, most important, an open checkbook. He attacked Wilson on taxes, immigration and his handling of the Los Angeles riots — all with substantial television and radio buys. He trundled up and down the state holding news conferences touting a conservative message that included an endorsement of Oliver North in the Virginia U.S. Senate race. While Wilson's original strategy was to ignore Unz, a May Field Poll giving the upstart 30 percent support forced Wilson to agree to a radio debate in the last two weeks of the campaign. In the end, the man who was a no-name in February pulled down a more than respectable 34 percent of the GOP vote, and pulled 43 percent in Orange County. Wilson took 61 percent.

Garmendi

Does Unz' strong showing spell trouble for Wilson? Analysts across the spectrum agree that the conservative voters who defected to Unz will likely return to Wilson's fold in November, if for no other reason than to vote against Jerry Brown's sister. Some GOP experts, however, say at least some of Unz' tally were protest votes cast by Republican moderates, who have their own reasons for disliking Wilson. These swing voters are much more likely to consider Brown as an alternative. What is beyond dispute is that Unz' candidacy serves as a reminder that Wilson entered the race with the highest negatives of any sitting governor in the last five decades.

While Wilson's troubles may seem like good news for Brown, the challenger has more than enough to chew on as she maps out her fall campaign. Brown's personal opposition to the death penalty figures to be target number-one for Wilson, a tenacious, "take no prisoners" campaigner. Wilson also figures to portray Brown as a lightweight, with neither the policy understanding nor the personal toughness to lead a troubled state. These themes have already been used by Wilson to bring him even with Brown in head-to-head matchups, which Brown once led by as much as 23 points. Perhaps more worrysome for the treasurer: Exit polls by the *Los Angeles Times*

Unz

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showed nearly one-third of Garamendi voters saying they would vote for Wilson over Brown. Most cited the death penalty as their reason.

Brown's strongest issue figures to be the economy which, while better than it was two years ago, is still no great shakes. The early post-primary campaign has also seen Brown take after Wilson on crime, specifically on a parole policy that she says has resulted in the deaths of 10 people. Brown also has a less tangible issue on her side — the troubled psyche of a state battered by disaster after disaster. Her new campaign slogan ("To Restore the California Promise") is Brown's bid to identify herself with the "California Dream" and identify Wilson with the occasionally nightmarish reality of the last four years. She also will continue to enjoy the benefits of being a woman candidate and a Brown.

While both candidates figure to raise a ton of money, the race may ultimately turn on events beyond their control. If the state's economy turns around, and the state's dire fiscal situation is shunted to the sidelines, nothing will keep crime from dominating the campaign. In such an event, Wilson will likely end up the choice of a majority of voters, albeit a reluctant one. If, on the other hand, the economy continues to lag, and Californians' idealistic self-image continues to take a beating, recession weary voters will be looking for somebody to blame. Bill Clinton won't be on the ballot. Pete Wilson will.

—Steve Scott

Lieutenant Governor

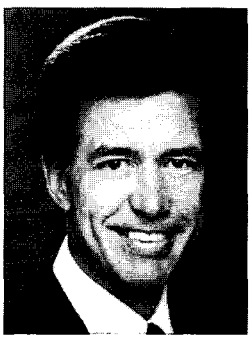
Ashmallah (D)	203,795	(10)
Davis (D)	**1,887,031**	**(90)**
Statham (R)	656,351	(37)
Wright (R)	**1,094,203**	**(63)**
Lewis (AI)	**17,267**	**(100)**
New (L)	**13,016**	**(100)**
Gomez (P)	**4,215**	**(100)**
Moses (G)	**11,494**	**(71)**
None of the above (G)	4,673	(29)

It's hard to make anybody care about the lieutenant governor's race. Two weeks before the primary, a Field poll showed that 58 percent of state GOP voters hadn't yet decided between state Senator Cathie Wright and Assemblyman Stan Statham. Wright, who wound up winning with more than 62 percent of the statewide vote, apparently elicited the stronger shrug.

While neither candidate had the kind of resources needed to buy significant television or radio advertising, Wright did wind up with a fund-raising advantage of more than three-to-one over the last two months, and spent herself into debt in anticipation of the fall's greener pastures. Her funds bought space on several slate mailers, a luxury that Statham could not afford, and produced a sprinkling of last-minute mailers across the state.

Statham was handicapped in part by his north-state origins; while his support grew roughly in tandem with the distance from the Mexican border, this left the population-heavy south for Simi Valley native Wright. The southerner may also have been helped by her gender, as voters looked to balance the Republican ticket facing Kathleen Brown. And on election day, Wright's ideology may have appealed to conservative Republicans who tend to turn out for primaries, thus giving her the lion's share of the undecided.

Wright



Davis

John Theiss, the senator's chief aide, called the last few weeks a "classic campaign, fought on the ground." Wright, he said, relied heavily on field volunteers to get her name and conservative message out; Statham spent the last week criss-crossing the state in his car, talking to voters and looking for free media coverage. But the prospect of successful fall "ground play," on a field the size of California, is unlikely. Democrat Gray Davis is starting with high name identification from his position as state controller and previous bids for office. He has already raised more than $2 million, will be sure to take to the air quickly with hard-hitting television and radio spots — and for what little it's worth after such a low primary turnout, he received considerably more votes than any single candidate for any office.

Davis is confident that Wright's conservatism will work against her in a higher-turnout fall election. "She's wrong on most of the issues that are important to the voters of California," said Garry South, Davis's campaign manager. Her voting record would certainly be an issue in the campaign, he added.

Wright has other flaws as a candidate, not least being a tendency to speak her mind without regard for the political consequences. For instance, she recently told the audience at the Senate Judiciary Committee hearing that they would have a right to complain about special-interest contributions — but only after they too were donating funds.

— John Borland

Treasurer

Angelides (D)	**1,094,119**	**(55)**
Roberti (D)	878,330	(45)
Fong (R)	**1,565,360**	**(100)**
McCoy (AI)	**17,002**	**(100)**
Petersen (L)	**12,975**	**(100)**
Tucker (P)	**3,906**	**(100)**

When the final results were tallied for the Democratic race for treasurer, the night belonged to Phil Angelides, former chairman of the state Democratic Party. The real story of the campaign, however, was not Angelides, but the man

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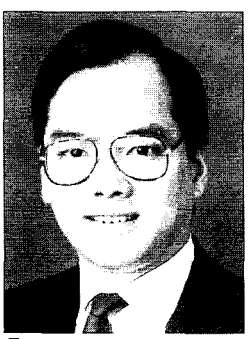
he beat — state Senator David Roberti. For the last 12 months, Roberti has ridden an unprecedented political roller-coaster. He entered the campaign as an almost pathetic figure — a leader deposed by term-limits who was desperately looking for a way to cling to power. By spring, he was a hero in the battle for gun control after beating back a recall sponsored by the gun lobby as retribution for his efforts to ban assault weapons. By election day, he was back on the ropes, stripped of the resources to answer a withering barrage of attack ads from his well-funded, well-connected foe.

Angelides

Roberti


Fong

Angelides entered the campaign well positioned for a cakewalk. Calling in a stack of chits from his successful stint as party chair, the Sacramento developer lined up endorsements from a virtual who's who of the party. Those endorsements, and his Greek roots, helped Angelides put more than $2 million in the bank by the first of the year. While Angelides was confident, Roberti was tentative, not officially committing to a run for treasurer and casting around for possible alternatives. But the real monkey wrench came when pro-gun activists in Roberti's Senate district announced they'd gathered enough signatures to force Roberti into an April recall. Suddenly, the race was on hold, as Angelides could not risk being viewed as helping the gun lobby. Roberti, meanwhile, was forced to direct his entire fund raising effort to the recall. He wound up spending some $700,000, and defeated the recall by about 60 percent to 40 percent.

With Roberti recast as a slayer of the NRA dragon, Angelides suddenly found himself as the underdog. Lesson number one in underdog school: Go negative. Angelides attacks on Roberti were widely viewed as the nastiest of any race this year. One spot left many viewers with the impression that Roberti — an opponent of abortion rights — had condoned the murder of a Florida physician who performed abortions. Another suggested Roberti was directly involved in the extortion and bribery for which three of his key legislative lieutenants were sent to prison. Roberti has never been formally charged with corruption, although he did turn a blind eye to the activities of senators Joseph Montoya, Paul Carpenter and Alan Robbins, who were convicted of corruption. Angelides' slash-and-burn campaign tactics put a tarnish on Angelides' insistence that he is part of a "new generation" intent upon being agents of change.

"I thought the campaign run against David Roberti was disgusting," former state Democratic Party Chairman Peter Kelly told the *Los Angeles Times*. "A former party chair doing that to someone who was such a great Democratic leader for all these years is just not right." Angelides insists his commercials were "fair and accurate," and maintains his media campaign was "50 percent about my opponent and 50 percent about my own record and my message of change." Ultimately, however, the substance of the spots didn't matter. With his campaign fund drained by the recall, Roberti could do little more than buy slate mailers and rely on free media to answer Angelides' attacks. It wasn't enough. Although he led in most polls, the large bloc of undecided voters were going to listen to the last voice they heard, and that voice was Angelides'.

Angelides' victory sets up a November face-off with Board of Equalization member Matt Fong, who was unopposed in the Republican primary. Fong, son of former Democratic Secretary of State March Fong Eu, has been quietly stockpiling money and figures to benefit from the Democratic dust-up. Angelides has proven, however, that he has the fund raising capacity — and the killer instinct — to make it an interesting contest.

But, for many, that is a battle for another day. The talk for now is of Roberti, the tragic figure who is left to serve out the Senate term that most believe cost him his political future. Ending nearly three decades in the Legislature, Roberti can point to significant accomplishments, including the first statewide day-care and programs for latchkey kids. His legacy also carries the tarnish associated with his elevation to leadership of three corrupt senators. The accommplishment for which he will be most remembered, however, is the one that indirectly proved his undoing — the statewide ban on assault weapons. In Angelides, the gun lobby found an instrument for accomplishing in June what it couldn't win in April. Roberti had enough energy to out-wrestle the National Rifle Association. The unintentional tag-team of the NRA and Angelides proved too much to overcome.

—Steve Scott

Secretary of State

Miller (D)	**766,285**	**(38)**
Moore (D)	615,158	(30)
Woo (D)	637,824	(32)
Jones (R)	**1,529,579**	**(100)**
Robbins (AI)	**17,271**	**(100)**
Christensen (L)	**12,972**	**(100)**
Feuer (P)	**3,990**	**(100)**
Garcia (G)	**11,959**	**(74)**
None of the above (G)	4,196	(26)

Aided by a ballot designation that listed him as the "Acting Secretary State," and by the endorsements of newspapers up and down the state, Tony Miller — California's first openly gay candidate from a major party to seek statewide office — won the Democratic primary by a surprisingly wide margin over Los Angeles Assemblywoman Gwen Moore and former Los Angeles City Councilman Michael Woo. He now faces GOP Assemblyman Bill Jones, co-author of the three-

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strikes crime bill signed into law earlier this year.

Miller, who was named acting secretary of state when longtime Democratic incumbent March Fong Eu was confirmed as U.S. ambassador to Micronesia, had worked with Eu for 18 years. Throughout the campaign, his advertising was modest at best, and he was on very few slate mailers. But he took the unusual step of attaching his name to every election document that went out to voters and got some high-profile media attention with an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to seek a court order to survey people who signed petitions for a tobacco company-backed smoking initiative. Miller wanted to see if they were misled about the purpose of the measure. Had Miller been successful, the initiative might have been booted off the November ballot. Miller also won the endorsements of more major newspapers than his opponents, and most of the editorials echoed his campaign statement that he was not a career politician — a boost in his quest to run the office that oversees elections and receives campaign contribution statements.

Woo

Moore

Jones

Woo, who was the leading fund raiser and had the highest name identification due to his recent run for mayor in Los Angeles, consistently was ranked at the top of most polls. But along with high name identification came high negatives. The voters who knew him best — in Los Angeles — gave Moore their vote, perhaps remembering that in his mayoral race, his campaign received $6000 in violation of the city's election law, and that during his tenure on the LA County Transportation Commission, the Fair Political Practices Commission fined him $2000 for voting on an issue that affected a contributor.

In addition, the coalition that had backed him for mayor included African-Americans and gays — groups peeled away by Moore, who is African-American, and by Miller. Woo's campaign also may have suffered when he was dropped from consultant Clint Reilly's slate mailer after Woo had bought his way onto it. Woo has sued Reilly for breach of contract.

But ultimately, Woo was hurt the most by Miller's ballot designation — which Woo tried to rectify by suing to have "Acting Secretary State" struck from the line beneath Miller's name. According to Steven Glazer, Woo's campaign manager, "We were running against a *de facto* incumbent."

Miller's campaign director, Ron Gray, said that those who thought Woo would win underestimated Miller's ability to appeal to undecided voters — a category that fit most Democrats until the last moment, according to most polls. Those voters were moved by the newspaper endorsements touting him as the only candidate who wasn't a career politician. "He was the only non-career politician with the clear credentials to talk about meaningful campaign and initiative reform that struck a chord with voters who are tired of the status quo," said Gray.

Moore's presence on several prominent slate mailers in the final days of the race helped her effort significantly, lifting her out of distant third place. "She was very low coming into the home stretch [and] she made considerable gains as a result of her domination on the slate mailers. But she didn't do enough broadcasting [to get her message out], and the slates weren't enough," said Gray.

While Miller's victory margin surprised some pundits, he now has to try to win over the more conservative Central Valley Democrats who might lean toward Jones, who's represented Fresno in the Assembly since 1982. Since secretary of state is low on the ballot, both sides are expected to have difficulty raising funds. But unlike many constitutional officers facing off in November, these two are expected to be afforded plenty of free media: Miller because his job requires him to communicate with voters, and Jones because his three-strikes measure is headed for the November ballot.

— Danielle Starkey

Controller

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Areias (D)	480,438	(24)
Connell (D)	**469,509**	**(49)**
Perata (D)	543,786	(27)
McClintock (R)	**1,036,523**	**(61)**
Morris (R)	669,466	(39)
Johnson (AI)	**16,478**	**(100)**
Lang (L)	**12,758**	**(100)**
Nakano (P)	**2,746**	**(62)**
Rose (P)	1,651	(38)

The female praying mantis — an insect that resembles a thin, graceful grasshopper — sits peacefully, appearing harmless if not asleep, until just the right moment. Then she strikes. Kathleen Connell, the winner of the Democratic primary for state controller, is the mantis of this June's elections. She sat back, waited, and struck just before the election, walking away with the Democratic nomination for controller.

Connell

The biggest clue to Connell's success may be summed up in one word: money. That money paid for a solid, positive, polished commercial that aired in heavy rotation during the final 10 days of the race. The spot emphasized her successes as a businesswoman and preyed on voters' dislike of incumbent politicians. She spent a mint on the campaign — about $1.5 million, much of it from her own pocket. It's only fitting that the candidate who showed she could spend money and spend it wisely

McClintock

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would want to be the state's main spender. When state dollars are distributed, it is the controller who writes the checks. If Connell's primary victory is any indication, writing checks is something she's already very good at. Businesswoman Connell handily defeated her two more experienced rivals — Alameda County Supervisor Don Perata and Central Valley Assemblyman Rusty Areias.

Perata, who boasted ties to the Berman-Waxman political axis, raised less than a third of Connell's total, and his closing spots were cheesy and ineffective. Areias, who was behind in fund raising throughout much of the race, was able to gather in more than $800,000 by the last reporting period. By then, however, Connell's spots were already in the can, and the air time had been bought. Connell also enjoyed an advantage shared by another Kathleen on the Democratic ballot. Like Kathleen Brown, Connell is a woman who ran against two men.

The GOP also had a millionaire candidate, but John Morris was not so savvy with his money. He had fistfuls more than the candidate who won, former conservative Assemblyman Tom McClintock from Thousand Oaks. McClintock had only about $300,000 to Morris' $800,000. Unlike Connell, Morris, heir to the Mervyn's retail fortune, had trouble breaking through the noise. McClintock also proved to be a more formidable candidate to Morris than the other Democrats did to Connell. The former assemblyman is an outspoken, contentious conservative whose official ballot designation was "taxpayer advocate" — a title conservative GOP voters would be drawn to if they weren't already familiar with him. But many in the conservative wing of the Republican party already know McClintock from his days in the Legislature when he dogged fellow Republicans, including Governor Pete Wilson, for overspending on everything from welfare to prisons, making him a hero among the anti-tax conservatives. Morris wasn't able to make up the difference.

— Mary Beth Barber

Insurance Commissioner

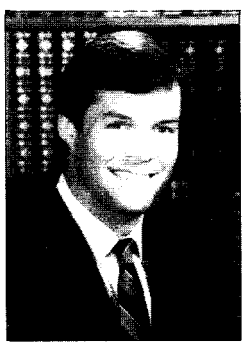
★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Kraft (D)	381,113	(20)
Margolin (D)	651,623	(34)
Torres (D)	**888,069**	**(46)**
Bannister (R)	344,933	(21)
Conran (R)	318,095	(19)
Dulac (R)	49,412	(3)
Harden (R)	227,875	(14)
Quackenbush (R)	**629,391**	**(38)**
Stieringer (R)	90,514	(5)
Jaques (AI)	**16,901**	**(100)**
Brown (L)	**12,984**	**(100)**
Condit (P)	**4,125**	**(100)**

In politics, it's not what you know or who you know, it's what others think you know. At least that's what the results in the Insurance Commissioner Democratic primary suggest. Senator Art Torres, a longtime Latino legislator from the eastern part of Los Angeles, handily defeated opponent Assemblyman Burt Margolin, despite Margolin's initial advantages. Out of the gate, Margolin seemed to have it all — fund raising, endorsements and familiarity with the issues. But he suffered from one fatal flaw, shyness, an attribute rarely attributed to Torres.

Torres

On paper, Margolin looked formidable. He hailed from wealthy West Los Angeles, had ties to kingmakers like Democratic Representatives Howard Berman and Henry Waxman, and had a reputation as a straightforward and knowledgeable lawmaker. He had plenty of experience with consumer-related issues, and chaired the Assembly Health Committee. Consumer advocate Ralph Nader held him in high regard, and wrote a gushing endorsement letter just before the election. Insiders saw him as the most able candidate. Unfortunately for Margolin, insiders are not the only ones who voted June 7th. Margolin wound up losing by 12 points to Torres.



Quackenbush

While Margolin may have had considerable institutional support, his shyness negated most of his advantages. Observers noted right from the get-go that Margolin avoided the limelight — a deadly tendency in a race where candidates have to fight to be heard above the election-season din. Torres, on the other hand, flocks to television cameras like a moth to light, and is in his element at political functions. He also had far better name recognition from his failed run at the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors and his failed pay-at-the-pump auto-insurance plan. Torres would be the first Latino to hold statewide office this century if he wins in November, a description that makes him stand out from Margolin and others in the election.

When Margolin did try to get down and dirty, it seemed to run against his grain. He joined in when his friend, fellow Los Angeles Democratic Assemblyman Terry Friedman, attacked Torres for supporting an amendment to Friedman's controversial workplace smoking ban. Even more out of character was Margolin's willingness to capitalize on Torres' drunk-driving arrests in the 1980s. Torres successfully counterpunched the Friedman attack, and the hits fell flat when campaign aides pointed out that Torres had been completely sober for the last five years. In the end, Margolin couldn't overcome Torres' mediagenic tendencies nor his finances. Margolin's wealthy friends were apparently hit by the recession, since they didn't come through as expected. Torres raised more than three times a much.

The GOP race was also a spirited contest, as Assemblyman Chuck Quackenbush of Cupertino knocked off two rivals, including the 1990 nominee. Jim Conran, the former head of the state Department of Consumer Affairs, was considered Quackenbush's toughest foe, raising more money than Quackenbush — at least before the last few days of the race. Conran's fund-raising success was a surprise, since his entry into the race was thought to

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have angered his old boss, Governor Pete Wilson. Conran also gained endorsement after endorsement from newspapers across the state. But the money and endorsements were to no avail, as Conran limped in third. While Southern California insurance agent Wes Bannister — the 1990 GOP nominee — had less than $40,000, his previous run for the office gave him the needed name recognition to place him second.

But neither could compete with Quackenbush, who has movie-star looks, a catchy surname, and a bucket of cash of his own that he dumped into the campaign at the last minute. Quackenbush finished well in front of Bannister and Conran. Much of that gain came from a strong push at the end. Observers wonder whether he will be a strong candidate against Torres in the fall, however. While the assemblyman has already started pushing campaign materials that portray him as a friend to consumers, voters have tended to side with Democrats for this post and Torres has proved himself to be an able campaigner.

— Mary Beth Barber

Superintendent of Public Instruction

(Non-partisan)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Carrabino	270,366	(7)
DiMarco	**509,736**	**(14)**
Eastin	**821,318**	**(22)**
Keizer	138,135	(4)
Kilber	86,207	(2)
Koppel	362,072	(10)
Martin	154,029	(4)
Mele	96,520	(3)
Rice	239,917	(7)
Smith	440,403	(12)
Stewart	241,433	(7)
Tuchman	294,029	(8)

In 1986 and 1990, the job of state schools' chief was won outright in the June primary when incumbent Bill Honig captured more than 50 percent of the vote, thereby avoiding a November runoff for the state's lone non-partisan constitutional office. But Honig is gone, thanks to a conflict-of-interest conviction, and the race to succeed him attracted a dozen candidates. The vastness of the slate made it virtually impossible for any candidate to capture the office in June. The top two vote-getters — Delaine Eastin, chairwoman of Assembly Education and a Democrat; and Maureen DiMarco, Governor Pete Wilson's education secretary and also a Democrat — will square off in November.

Considering that independent polls from as late as May showed 57 percent of voters were as yet undecided, it's not surprising why Eastin and DiMarco emerged on top. Eastin, backed heavily by the California Teachers' Association and the state Democratic Party, had the money to spend, and she spent it on an eleventh-hour television blitz. No other candidate could match Eastin's money, but DiMarco gained some free publicity when, as the governor's chief education spokesperson, she stepped into the recent controversy over the CLAS test.

DiMarco

While the voters' choice of the top two was no surprise, at least one candidacy unexpectedly fell flat. Joseph Carrabino, former chairman of the State Board of Education, was expected to run a strong campaign, perhaps bolstered by those who supported Proposition 174 — the voucher initiative defeated by voters in November 1993. But Carrabino finished a dismal sixth. He was bested by three newcomers: Wilbert Smith, a bank executive from Pasadena; Carol Koppel, a retired judge who was actually in second place for several hours after the polls closed; and Gloria Tuchman, a Tustin teacher and school trustee.

Eastin

The runoff will prove an uphill struggle for DiMarco. Although she sports an impressive resume, she doesn't have the kind of support that Eastin commands. Much of Eastin's power was demonstrated in recent campaign finance reports, where she reported having spent $900,000 - more than 11 times DiMarco's $80,000. The fact that DiMarco is a Democrat working for a Republican governor cuts two ways. She says it indicates she can work with all sides; critics point out that she is regarded warily by both parties.

Carrabino

Many conservative groups, potential allies of DiMarco, have remained quiet. The California Republican Party has turned its back on this race altogether, refusing to endorse either candidate. Others such as the Traditional Values Coalition PAC, which supported Carrabino and the voucher initiative, are dead set against Eastin, but also are unimpressed with DiMarco. Steve Sheldon, political director of the TVC, said that DiMarco never responded to TVC's questionnaire and the group is still fuzzy on her views, although it seems to them that DiMarco is only a liberal while Eastin is left-wing. "It's the difference between AIDS and gonorrhea," Sheldon said. "One kills you and the other is at least treatable."

DiMarco, however, must focus her campaign on Eastin's cozy relationship with the CTA and special-interest groups while a member of the Legislature. DiMarco also says that she has had more experience on every level of education, while Eastin's experience is limited to several years on Assembly Education and a few years of teaching in community college.

Eastin, meanwhile, is gearing up to hang Pete Wilson's reputation around DiMarco's neck, reminding the public of the governor's plan to keep kindergartners out of school a year longer to save money, delayed school construction and a general lack of sensitivity towards children. Eastin will also continue to emphasize her working-class background; her father was a machinist and her mother a dressmaker.

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DiMarco may try to distance herself from Wilson, who declined to endorse her prior to the primary. But whether she likes it or not, Wilson is both her albatross and her benefactor. Eastin has a natural political base in the CTA and the Democratic Party, which went to court to fight for the right to endorse her in a non-partisan race. Both support groups also translate into cash. DiMarco, without a definable political base, must appeal to groups like the TVC and mine much of her support from the Republican Party and from independents. Strangely enough, that is also where Pete Wilson will be operating his shovel.

— Kirsten Mangold

Attorney General

Umberg (D)	**1,627,361**	**(100)**
Lungren (R)*	**1,660,443**	**(100)**
Burns (L)	**12,922**	**(100)**
Evans (P)	**4,200**	**(100)**

Umberg

Lungren

Assemblyman Tom Umberg very nearly had a hotly contested Democratic primary in the race for attorney general. But San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith, who four years ago came within a percentage point of defeating Republican Dan Lungren, decided to drop out, saying that a nasty battle between two Democrats ultimately would prevent the winner from having the financial resources needed to defeat Lungren. Sources also said that Smith's supporters began to go soft on him, preferring Umberg — a former federal prosecutor who was elected to the Assembly in 1990.

Smith's departure meant no contested Democratic primary. Umberg and Lungren, a former congressman from Long Beach, have been focusing on the fall election, and on each other.

Lungren has been touting the fact that overall crime recently has gone down in California, but that his job as the state's top cop is far from over. Umberg points out that, numbers aside, people feel less safe today than several years ago because the incumbent attorney general has been "AWOL" in the war on crime. If Umberg can effectively make the case that he would do a better job, he could defeat Lungren. But he needs to hammer home his message, and that takes money. Currently, Umberg's bank account is less than half the $844,304 in Lungren's vault, according to reports filed at the end of May with the Secretary of State's Office. And Lungren brings to the contest a long public track record as hard-nosed on crime.

Both sides could be helped or hurt by what happens at the top of the ticket. And both have handlers who are spread thin this fall. Umberg's campaign manager is Clint Reilly, who also is handling Treasurer Kathleen Brown's campaign. Lungren's chief strategist is Ken Khachigian, who also is doing Republican Congressman Michael Huffington's campaign for U.S. Senate.

— Danielle Starkey

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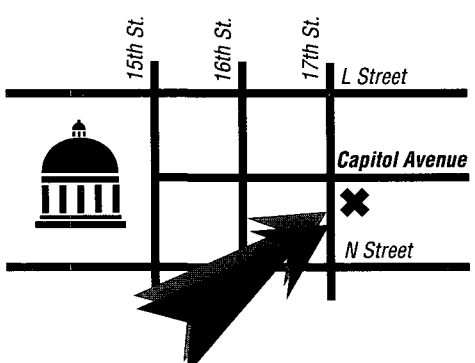

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Ballot Measures

Prop. 1A (Earthquake Bond)		
Yes	1,943,791	(46)
No	**2,308,240**	**(54)**
Prop. 1B (Schools Bond)		
Yes	2,095,620	(50)
No	**2,130,196**	**(50)**
Prop. 1C (Higher Ed. Bond)		
Yes	1,979,722	(47)
No	**2,197,831**	**(53)**
Prop. 175 (Renters' Tax Credit)		
Yes	1,799,269	(43)
No	**2,405,294**	**(57)**
Prop. 176(Nonprofit exemption)		
Yes	**2,165,071**	**(52)**
No	1,963,279	(48)
Prop. 177 (Disabled access)		
Yes	**2,512,974**	**(61)**
No	1,631,198	(39)
Prop. 178 (Water conserv. exemption)		
Yes	1,820,430	(45)
No	**2,233,290**	**(55)**
Prop. 179 (Drive-by punish)		
Yes	**3,728,662 (87)**	
No	531,082	(13)
Prop. 180 (Park bond)		
Yes	1,833,957	(43)
No	**2,388,664**	**(57)**

The voters sent a resounding message to Sacramento this election: Don't spend any more money. Don't borrow it, don't build anything new, and don't allow some taxpayers reprieves from taxes. Two education bonds, a parks initiative and the Northridge earthquake-repair measure — a proposal that was assumed by Sacramento lawmakers to pass with flying colors — all failed.

Voters did approved what could be characterized as the "crime and charity" measures. Proposition 179, which would increase the penalties for drive-by shooters from 15 years-to-life to 20 years-to-life, gained overwhelming support. A measure that exempts non-profit organizations from local business taxes, and another that exempts businesses from increased property taxes if they build or modify their property to eliminate structural access barriers for people with disabilities, were both approved.

But the electorate voted down the measures that allowed the state to borrow money for infrastructure investments, and said "no" to a few tax exemption measures as well. The renters' tax credit and agricultural water-conservation equipment tax exemption didn't pass either, in addition to the bond measures.

The failed bonds are of the greatest concern to lawmakers, who are faced with severe budget problems, an underfunded program to reinforce bridges against earthquakes, and an educational system in decline. But the voters apparently didn't think the state could take on any more debt during these shaky economic times, said Lenny Goldberg, director of the California Tax Reform Association. "If the state is already in debt — and it's clear the state is in debt — who wants to take on long-term debt when things are financially unstable?"

While Los Angeles supported the bond proposals, the rest of the state did not. The earthquake bond proposal garnered 57 percent in the county of the angels — almost the exact reverse of the statewide "no." "When the earthquake first happened, there was major support for the quarter-cent sales tax," said Goldberg. But when Governor Pete Wilson and the Legislature decided to go with bonds instead, "the people just didn't buy it."

"I think the voters finally caught on" that bonds mean more spending later, said Assemblyman Richard Katz (D-Sylmar), whose district was heavily hit by the earthquake. "[The voters] may not understand the specific numbers ... but they understand that the bonds cost them a ton of money — them and their kids."

The park bonds, sponsored by the Planning and Conservation League, probably failed for the same reasons, said Katz. Voters just didn't want to spend or borrow any more money during a bad economy. But some Proposition 180 opponents disliked the measure because of the way PCL got it on the ballot. Land owners and developers who would directly profit from the measure financially supported the pro-Proposition 180 campaign. "For public officials, it would be bribery," said Dan Frielander, a consultant to Senator Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco), who has attempted to pass legislation curtailing such practices.

Others point to the low election turnout as another cause for the failure of the bonds. Only 38 percent turned out, and the majority of them were older and more conservative. Also, the earthquake bond was hampered by the distance of time. The ground shook in Northridge months ago, and the sympathy factor that had worked to Los Angeles County's advantage in January had dissipated.

Another loser in this June's elections is former Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti (D-Van Nuys), champion of the renters' tax credit. During last year's budget fight, Roberti agreed to a suspension of the renters' credit only if it went before voters as a ballot measure to cement its place in the state's financial structure. But that older, conservative voting population — a large portion of whom are home *owners*, said "no."

The failure of earthquake bonds also left the state scrambling to pay for its share of the damage, and for for the seismic retrofitting of bridges and highways. California is required to provide 10 percent of the funding to repair facilities damaged from the quake to receive federal disaster assistance money. It was thought the state would have to come up with $145 million for transportation, $65 million for K-12 facilities, $200 million for local infrastructure repair, and $65 million for hazard mitigation. The state can't ask Los Angeles for the money; it didn't ask other cities for cash in previous disasters. In addition, on election day Wilson signed SB 273 by Los Angeles Democrat Senator David Robert that mandated the state pay for those costs.

There is one bright spot: Wilson and the Legislature apparently overestimated how much money would be needed to match federal funds, and it's probably about a third of what was slated on the ballot. The current highway accounts will absorb the transportation costs, previous school bond measures will pay for the educational facilities costs, and the $200 million local match will have to be budgeted. Hazard mitigation and the state Disaster Assistance Program won't be funded, according to Wilson's office.

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Katz and Kopp, who chair the transportation committees in the Legislature, thought that one of their greatest concerns — the seismic retrofitting program — would have been helped by the earthquake bond measure. Almost half of the money from that proposal, $950 million, would have gone to reinforce bridges against earthquakes. The bridge retrofitting program was started after the Loma Prieta quake in 1989 but has been slowed down by excessive costs and repair delays. Proposition 1A money would have jump-started the program, and the measure's failure means that legislators must search for alternatives. Katz wants to make retrofitting a priority over highway construction or repair. Kopp prefers his temporary gas-tax increase for the program. Wilson said that highway funding would obviously have to be shuffled, but sources say Katz' plan is too drastic for the governor, and Wilson won't approve a gas-tax increase, especially during an election year. The other failed bonds don't affect the earthquake-hit areas, except that CSU-Northridge and local community colleges could have received more funding for new facilities, in addition to the rebuilding underway.

— Mary Beth Barber

Board of Equalization

★ ★ ★ ★

District 1 (54% D - 30% R)		
Klehs (D)	**235,511**	**(44)**
Shimmon (D)	53,940	(10)
Simmons (D)	154,525	(29)
Taylor (D)	93,160	(17)
Bendick (R)	135,429	(41)
Strawn (R)	**197,757**	**(59)**
Watson (L)	**4,143**	**(100)**

With so much election activity swirling throughout the state, candidates for Board of Equalization were left to run low-profile campaigns where the key factor may have been previous name recognition. In that vein, it's not surprising that the Democratic nominee is Assemblyman Johan Klehs. Although BOE 1 covers a lot of territory, most of its voters live in Klehs' Bay Area bailiwick. Although his Democratic opponents also hailed from the Bay Area, Klehs has been winning elections here since 1982. Klehs also had the biggest warchest, again no surprise given that he has chaired the Revenue and Taxation Committee for years. Come November, Klehs will face off with Republican Robert Strawn, a former board auditor and tax manager for an electronics company. But in a Democratic district, Strawn has a very tough campaign ahead.

District 2 (46% D - 41% R)		
Hoyt (D)	78,362	(18)
Micallef (D)	86,689	(20)
Navarrette (D)	66,610	(15)
Presley (D)	**153,055**	**(35)**
Stebbins (D)	48,285	(11)
Andal (R)	**167,297**	**(36)**
Bertholf (R)	102,416	(22)
Glenn (R)	41,607	(9)
Parrish (R)	148,228	(32)
Vance (AI)	**5,768**	**(100)**

Two warhorses from the Legislature came out the top vote-getters for an open BOE 2, but the route wasn't easy for either of them. Along the way, Democratic Senator Robert Presley and GOP Assemblyman Dean Andal of Stockton may have reinforced the notion that the Legislature is a terrible place from which to launch a campaign for wider office. Presley was hampered by the fact that he has spent his 20-year legislative career representing Riverside County, which is not in this district. Presley had to relocate to Sacramento to qualify, opening himself up to charges of carpetbagging. Thus, for all his legislative and elective experience, Presley was virtually known to District 2 Democrats. Andal, on the other hand, has spent much of his life in Stockton, which is in the center of the district, and has represented the Central Valley for four years. He edged Palmdale businessman Claude Parrish, who lost to Democrat Brad Sherman in 1990 in the pre-reapportionment BOE 2. Andal's handlers say he didn't spend very much to fend off Parrish, hence the close contest. But according to campaign reports, Andal may not have had all that much to spend anyway, which puts him at a disadvantage to the well-heeled Presley. Andal had only $19,000 heading into the fall campaign, and was $63,000 in debt, according to documents filed with the secretary of state at the end of May. Presley, on the other hand, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, had $247,745 on hand at the end of May, with only $4641 of debt. Both candidates have a penchant for winning districts that ought to belong to the opposing party, so the fall race could turn on which candidate has enough cash to get his name known among district voters.

District 3 (39% D - 46% R)		
Christian-Heising (D)	**183,255**	**(54)**
Morrow (D)	154,381	(46)
Dronenburg (R)*	**418,758**	**(100)**
Mason (L)	**4,028**	**(100)**
Quirk (P)	**850**	**(100)**

In this decidedly Republican district, incumbent Ernie Dronenburg will return for his fifth term.

District 4 (57% D - 30% R)		
Elder (D)	19,725	(5)
Horton (D)	28,510	(7)
Koch (D)	61,469	(16)
Robles (D)	65,008	(17)
B.Sherman (D)*	**166,942**	**(43)**
G.Sherman (D)	50,740	(13)
Dynda (R)	**134,885**	**(63)**
Styles (R)	78,887	(37)
Goldberg (L)	**1,722**	**(100)**
Isaacson (P)	**842**	**(100)**

An inability to decide exactly what he wanted to run for, and where he wanted to run for it, helped keep Brad Sherman from winning the kind of victory one would expect of an incumbent Board of Equalization member. Sherman filed to run in three different BOE seats, as well as for state controller, before deciding to run in District 4, which is wholly contained within Los Angeles County. The effect of his indecision was to attract a large field, many of whom had at least enough mpney to put up signs and maintain some kind of visibility. Still, incumbent is all many people need to read on the ballot for Board of Equalization, and Sherman's fund-raising edge helped him beat his next closest rival, Albert Robles, by a more than two-to-one margin. The biggest dud of the campaign was fired by former Democratic Assemblyman Dave Elder of Long Beach, attempting a political comeback after being ousted in reapportionment-driven primary battle two years ago. Elder's experience in elected office was supposed to make him Sherman's toughest foe, but he finished dead last in the six-person field. Sherman's primary win all but assures his re-election, as registration prohibitively favors the Democrats.

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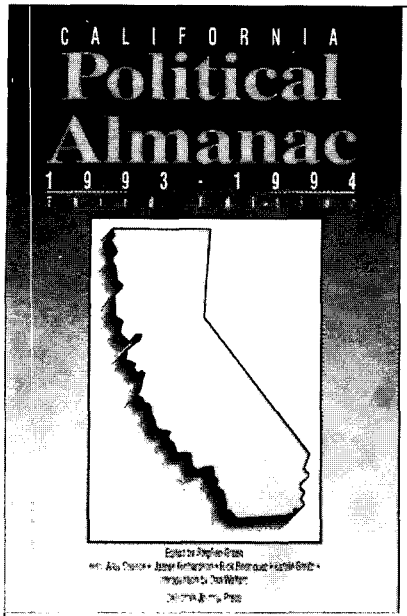

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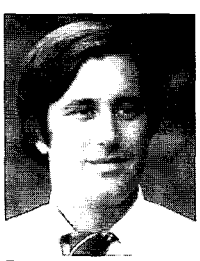
Congress

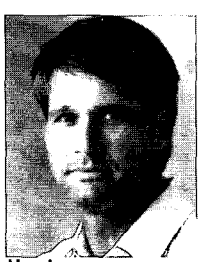
Despite the seemingly chronic unpopularity of the U.S. Congress as an institution, congressional incumbents seem, if anything, safer than those for state or local offices. Thus, it's not surprising that none of the 49 incumbents seeking another term in the House were unseated in the primary. There were, however, a couple of close shaves that might conceivably get closer in the fall, and well-funded challenges will put targeted incumbents in both parties on the run. The three open seats all produced heated primaries, one of which could put Cher's ex in the House of Representatives.

The squeaker of the day was Riverside Republican Ken Calvert's narrow victory over Joseph Khoury in a race dominated by Calvert's dalliance with a prostitute and subsequent allegations of a police cover-up. Diamond Bar incumbent Jay Kim, the subject of several campaign-finance investigations, polled a mere 41 percent in his primary, and was saved by a crowded primary field. Ex-Congressman Doug Bosco tried to put a scare into North Coast incumbent Dan Hamburg, but it didn't work. The only other incumbent with a whiff of opposition was Los Angeles Democrat Marty Martinez, who should be safe for the fall. There were surprises in all three open seat races. Longtime Santa Clara Supervisor Zoe Lofgren upset San Jose mayor Tom McEnery in the race to replace retiring Democrat Don Edwards. Veteran congressional political operative Marty Stone's bid to become a member of the club was stopped by university professor Walter Capps. And then there's Sonny Bono, who rode his name and strong conservative support to a primary win in the race to replace retiring Republican Al McCandless. Another modest surprise was organized labor's failure to follow through on its threat to mount primary challenges against vulnerable Democrats who supported the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Calvert and Kim figure to be at the top of any Democratic target list, along with freshman Richard Pombo and perennial target Bob Dornan. Still, the GOP's dance card is much longer. The target list includes San Diego's Lynn Schenk, Marina del Rey's Jane Harman, Woodland Hills' Tony Beilenson, Riverside's George Brown, Palo Alto's Anna Eshoo and North Fork's Rich Lehman. Former GOP Congressman Frank Riggs is also expected to give Hamburg a run. There's a reasonable chance the GOP will narrow the 29-23 Democratic edge in the delegation, but only the most optimistic of party regulars is predicting the GOP will take control.

Key: D = Democrat; R = Republican; AI = American Independent; L = Libertarian; P = Peace and Freedom; G = Green; * = incumbent; 🔥 = hot race; winners in **bold**; (#) = percent of the vote, rounded to nearest whole number.


Bosco


Hamburg

🔥District 1 (52% D - 34% R)

Bosco (D)	25,570	(38)
Hamburg (D)*	**40,892**	**(62)**
Deronde (R)	7,921	(17)
Levine (R)	9,458	(20)
Riggs (R)	**29,920**	**(63)**

This is the race that featured three congressmen — the current incumbent, Democrat Dan Hamburg, plus ex-incumbents Doug Bosco and Frank Riggs. Republican Riggs beat Democrat Bosco in 1990 and was in turn dispatched by Hamburg in '92. In the Democratic primary, Bosco ran as a moderate who would balance jobs with the environment, but he had trouble overcoming Hamburg's counterattacks that he was in the pocket of the timber interests, since Bosco was on the payroll of Pacific Lumber before and during the campaign. Riggs beat back two political unknowns for the GOP nod and now faces a rematch with Hamburg. His 1990 victory over Bosco was helped in large part by a massive defection of Democrats to the Peace and Freedom candidate — a situation that does not exist in '94. This should be a rematch of 1992, including result, although it will be fun to watch.

District 2 (43% D - 42% R)

Jacobs (D)	**45,993**	**(100)**
Herger (R)*	**58,617**	**(100)**
Kidd (AI)	**940**	**(100)**
Pendery (L)	**495**	**(100)**

Democrat Mary Jacobs' 45,993 votes show that there are some Democrats living in this northeastern California district, but not enough to topple incumbent Wally Herger.

District 3 (48% D - 39% R)

Fazio (D)*	**41,706**	**(75)**
McAfee (D)	13,842	(25)
Arrowsmith (R)	8,667	(19)
Fowler (R)	7,561	(17)
Lefever (R)	**29,120**	**(64)**
Crain (L)	**288**	**(100)**

Oh, how Republicans would love to knock off incumbent Vic Fazio, who is among the most powerful Democrats in Congress. The GOP forced Fazio to spend $1.7 million in 1992 to beat back a challenge by former GOP state Senator H.L. Richardson, who raised $802,000

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but got just 40 percent of the vote. This time, Fazio faces a political unknown in Tim LeFever, whose appeal is primarily to the right wing of his party. LeFever, a 33-year-old attorney, once an aide to former Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb, is active in the California Republican Assembly and a founding director of a group that supports conservative Christian causes. He handily won the GOP primary, but unless voters take a dim view of eight-term incumbents next November, his chances are slim against tireless campaigner and cash-rich Fazio.

District 4 (42% D - 46% R)		
Hirning (D)	**48,103**	**(100)**
Doolittle (R)*	**63,948**	**(100)**
Falconi (L)	**490**	**(100)**

If Republicans would like to oust Vic Fazio (see above), Democrats have the same feeling about incumbent Republican John Doolittle. This year, they've placed their hopes in Katie Hirning, a 46-year-old computer software executive who is pro-choice and pro-death penalty. One of Hirning's advantages is that she's wrested the endorsement of one of the district's largest employers — Hewlett Packard — from Doolittle, who won the company's endorsement in the last two elections. But it would take a considerable investment of resources for Hirning to defeat Doolittle in this strongly Republican district, and there is no indication that she will have much help beyond her own resources.

District 5 (58% D - 30% R)		
Matsui (D)*	**56,046**	**(100)**
Dinsmore (R)	**20,785**	**(66)**
Riordan (R)	10,871	(34)
Mors (AI)	**330**	**(100)**

This is a rematch for incumbent Bob Matsui, with predictable results.

District 6 (55% D - 30% R)		
Woolsey (D)*	**64,110**	**(100)**
Crockett (R)	2,857	(7)
Hughes (R)	12,197	(29)
McCorvey (R)	8,204	(19)
Nugent (R)	**13,455**	**(32)**
Rosanelli (R)	5,465	(13)
Beary (L)	**445**	**(100)**
Jones (P)	**225**	**(100)**

Two years ago, the GOP nominee was Assemblyman Bill Filante, who was suffering from cancer and died a short time later. That left the campaign field mostly to Democrat Lynn Woolsey, a former welfare mother. The two were seeking to replace Democrat Barbara Boxer, who ran for the U.S. Senate. Woolsey won, but Filante's condition made it an unusual contest. Woolsey now is a rookie congresswoman, and her first re-election bid will be more traditional. Five Republicans vied for the right to challenge her, although there isn't much evidence that she's vulnerable in a district with a solid Democratic registration edge. The top Republican was Michael Nugent, a mortgage broker and winemaker, who edged out Duane Hughes. Hughes was backed by the religious right, which doesn't often play well among Republicans in this well-heeled, Marin County district. Hughes had a good organization, but Nugent had a healthy bank account, seeded with loans to himself. As a moderate, he will give Woolsey a tougher time than Hughes would have done.

District 7 (62% D - 24% R)		
Miller (D)*	**53,307**	**(100)**
Hughes (R)	**18,658**	**(100)**
Callison (P)	**99**	**(100)**

Although both primaries were uncontested here, incumbent George Miller is expected to clean up in November.

District 8 (65% D - 15% R)		
Ingraham (D)	5,370	(9)
Pelosi (D)*	**57,443**	**(91)**
Cheung (R)	**9,568**	**(100)**

Incumbent Nancy Pelosi skates back to Washington.

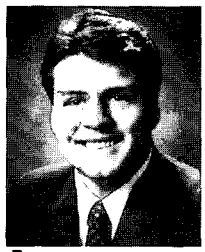
District 9 (69% D - 14% R)		
Dellums (D)*	**59,231**	**(100)**
Wright (R)	**11,153**	**(100)**
Mar (P)	**243**	**(100)**

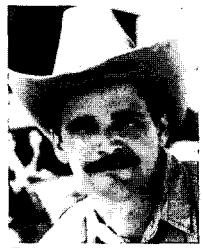
Incumbent Ron Dellums, who built his career as an anti-military firebrand, now chairs the House Armed Services Committee.

District 10 (43% D - 44% R)		
Horan (D)	18,156	(38)
Schwartz (D)	**29,559**	**(62)**
Baker (R)*	**42,598**	**(77)**
Williams (R)	12,966	(23)
Cooper (P)	**64**	**(100)**

Incumbent Bill Baker's fortunes this fall depend on the cash-raising ability of his Democratic opponent, businesswoman Ellen Schwartz. Registration favors Republicans, although Schwartz has the backing of labor, women's and environmental organizations. For the primary, she spent $80,000 and has hired the same financial consultant who worked on Barbara Boxer's and Kathleen Brown's campaigns. Baker, however, served this area for many years in the Assembly and is bright and caustic, with a solid track record for winning elections. This race only becomes hot if Schwartz raises oodles of dough.

District 11 (50% D - 40% R)		
Perry (D)	**25,781**	**(70)**
Sprague (D)	11,297	(30)
Pombo (R)*	**36,654**	**(100)**
Miller (L)	**160**	**(100)**


Perry


Pombo

Incumbent Richard Pombo can't be too happy that his Democratic opponent, Randy Perry, has strong law-enforcement credentials in a year voters are showing a keen interest in crime issues. But Pombo is certain to remind them of the distinction between crime-fighter and lobbyist for an association that represents street cops, as Perry is. Registration figures here are more comfortable now for Pombo than in 1992, when he narrowly defeated Patti Garamendi, and Pombo has the advantage of incumbency. He also, of course, has a track record, which Perry intends to exploit. He is particularly anxious to let the district know that Pombo voted against gun-control measures, including a ban on assault weapons, that Perry considers a mistake in a district where five children were mowed down in a school playground by a lunatic using an assault weapon.

District 12 (56% D - 28% R)		
Lantos (D)*	**49,517**	**(100)**
Quraishi (R)	10,082	(42)
Wilder (R)	**13,652**	**(58)**

It looks as though Bill Quraishi, who lost the general election in this district to Tom Lantos four years ago, won't get a second chance. That honor goes to Deborah Wilder, an attorney from Foster City. The "honor," of course, will be to lose.

District 13 (58% D - 27% R)		
Mills (D)	9,781	(23)
Stark (D)*	**31,874**	**(77)**
Molton (R)	**10,117**	**(55)**
Teyler (R)	8,145	(45)
Gough (L)	**189**	**(100)**

And it's one, two, three strikes for

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perennial candidate Jim Mills, who has yet again bowed to Incumbent Pete Stark in the primary. This fall, Stark will be able to concentrate his efforts on the national debate over health care.

District 14 (48% D - 36% R)

Eshoo (D)*	**45,610**	**(87)**
Tirey (D)	7,097	(13)
Brink (R)	**23,053**	**(72)**
Morton (R)	8,955	(28)

Eshoo

Incumbent Anna Eshoo faces a tough race, if only because Democratic registration is anything but overwhelming. Still, Eshoo appeals to the area's many "decline to state" voters, and she can breathe a little easier given that organized labor's threat to seek revenge for her pro-NAFTA vote never materialized. Republican Ben Brink, an engineer, should not present as formidable opponent as her foe of 1992 — former San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Huening.

District 15 (46% D - 38% R)

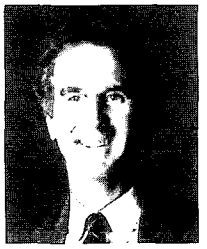
Mineta (D)*	**48,369**	**(100)**
Liu (R)	12,585	(32)
Wick (R)	**26,183**	**(68)**

Republicans will have to wait for incumbent Norm Mineta to retire before contesting for this seat.

District 16 (55% D - 29% R)

Dykes (D)	696	(2)
Harney (D)	757	(2)
Lane (D)	1,507	(4)
Lofgren (D)	**15,794**	**(45)**
McEnery (D)	14,687	(42)
Williamson (D)	1,387	(4)
Smith (R)	**14,316**	**(100)**

When former San Jose Mayor Tom McEnery threw his hat into the congressional ring being vacated by incumbent Democrat Don Edwards, most observers thought the primary would be one big coronation ball. After all, McEnery was



McEnery

arguably one of the most popular elected officials in San Jose history. But Santa Clara County Supervisor Zoe Lofgren had other ideas, and private polls showed that she had good cause for optimism. Although McEnery as mayor was responsible for the city's renaissance, Lofgren ambushed him with money and hardball politics. She challenged his accomplishments, then took advantage of his decision not to fight back. He also was hamstrung by the fact that his opponent was a woman, and his campaign manager, Richie Ross, warned him against counter-attacking a female opponent. Lofgren captured a large percentage of female and women voters and even took a majority of voters in the downtown area — previously McEnery's strongest base of support.

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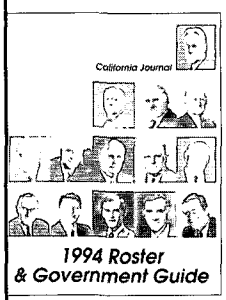

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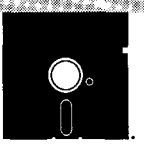

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District 17 (53% D - 31% R)

Dunn (D)	9,809	(20)
Farr (D)*	**40,231**	**(80)**
McCampbell (R)	**31,335**	**(100)**
Coffin (G)	**695**	**(67)**

Incumbent Sam Farr never faced the kind of primary opposition that labor threatened after he voted for NAFTA. It is unlikely that labor now will turn to the GOP, given that Farr has long been a friend to organized labor. Republican Bill McCampbell lost to Farr in last year's special election to replace Democrat Leon Panetta.

District 18 (52% D - 37% R)

Condit (D)*	**31,689**	**(100)**
Carter (R)	**23,778**	**(100)**
Morzella (L)	**118**	**(100)**

Registration is borderline, but these Central Valley folks love incumbent Gary Condit.

District 19 (46% D - 43% R)

Lehman (D)*	**35,096**	**(100)**
Manouel (R)	13,126	(29)
Gulke (R)	9,046	(20)
Radanovich (R)	**23,110**	**(51)**
Comstock (L)	**154**	**(100)**

Incumbent Rick Lehman barely beat political newcomer Tal Cloud in 1992, even

Lehman

Radanovich

though he outspent him $915,000 to $153,000. This year, the five-term incumbent is expected to have another tough battle against George Radanovich, a Mariposa County supervisor and winery owner. Lehman has the advantage of emerging unscathed from an uncontested primary, while Radanovich was caught up in an ugly contest with Mike Der Manouel, former chairman of the Fresno County Republican Central Committee, and Ron Gulke, owner of a contracting business. To date, Lehman has outraised Radanovich $185,775 to $38,189, although the money edge didn't help him much in 1992. With Fresno Assemblyman Bill Jones, the Republican candidate for secretary of state, mining the same territory for contributions, Radanovich may have trouble squeezing out money from the district. Still, this is conservative territory, and the party in power tends to shed a few seats during non-presidential years. That shedding could include Lehman if national Republicans come to the aid of Radanovich.

District 20 (59% D - 31% R)

Dooley (D)*	**22,772**	**(100)**
Estrada (R)	4,535	(24)
Murillo (R)	2,213	(12)
Young (R)	**11,884**	**(64)**

Incumbent Cal Dooley should have no trouble beating Paul Young, a commercial farm adviser.

District 21 (41% D - 48% R)

Evans (D)	**17,879**	**(55)**
Vollmer (D)	14,683	(45)
Thomas (R)*	**35,374**	**(70)**
Weber (R)	15,233	(30)
Hodges (L)	**240**	**(100)**

Longtime incumbent Bill Thomas has survived his usual primary challenge and now is headed for victory in November.

District 22 (43% D - 41% R)

Capps (D)	**17,956**	**(40)**
Stone (D)	15,319	(34)
Zacarias (D)	11,401	(26)
Reddoch (R)	2,962	(5)
Seastrand (R)	**35,114**	**(59)**
Stoker (R)	21,187	(36)
Bersohn (L)	**309**	**(100)**

Just how much has Michael Huffington poisoned the well in Santa Barbara? Huffington, you may remember, came to this district in 1992 from Texas, pumped a gazillion dollars into a successful primary tussle with longtime GOP incumbent Bob Lagomarsino, then served about two seconds in this congressional seat before announcing for the U.S. Senate (see page 8). In the process, he created some permanent enmity among Lagomarsino's friends and a powerful mistrust of well-heeled outsiders among all area voters. Thus, when Democrat Marty Stone ambled along from fresh his job as a congressional staffer in Washington, DC, intent on spending himself into a seat in Congress, local Democrats opted for the homeboy — UC religion professor Walter Capps. The GOP primary was dirty between Assemblywoman Andrea Seastrand and Santa Barbara Supervisor Mike Stoker right up to the final moments. The week before the election, Seastrand filed a defamation suit against Stoker for falsely claiming that she had accepted a pay increase while serving in the Assembly. Stoker, on the other hand, claimed that he never voted for a pay raise — until a local

Seastrand

paper mentioned such a vote in 1986. Stoker said it "slipped his mind." Oops. Seastrand spent $170,000 on her campaign so far and is looking forward to a matchup with a candidate who she hopes is less likely to sling mud.

District 23 (44% D - 41% R)

Ready (D)	**15,785**	**(53)**
Stephenson (D)	14,224	(47)
Gallegly (R)*	**37,692**	**(100)**
Brown (L)	**246**	**(100)**
Martson (G)	**251**	**(77)**

Democrats took a run at Elton Gallegly two years ago, only to get their heads handed to them. Kevin Ready talked of having some help from national Democratic circles during the primary, but was only barely able to fend off an underfunded Frank Stephenson. Given the closeness of his primary, Ready does not appear to be much of a threat to the conservative Gallegly.

District 24 (47% D - 40% R)

Beilenson (D)*	**39,772**	**(87)**
Gaulke (D)	6,109	(13)
Benhard (R) 4,776	(12)	
Hammer (R)	6,585	(17)
Korman (R)	5,981	(16)
Shane (R)	2,971	(8)
Sybert (R)	**18,089**	**(47)**
Koehler (L)	**275**	**(100)**

Incumbent Tony Beilenson's easy primary win may be his last comfortable moment for awhile. Redistricting pushed him into a district with an uncomfortably narrow Democratic registration edge. While he won a surprisingly easy victory two years ago, at least some of the credit goes to the harsh conservatism of his opponent, former Assemblyman Tom McClintock. This year, the GOP sends up a well-connected, personally wealthy moderate, Richard Sybert, former director of Governor Pete Wilson's Office of Planning and Research. Despite grousing about his recent arrival in the district, none of Sybert's opponents could match his unrelenting stream of mailers. Financier Robert Hammer provided the closest thing to a challenge, seeding his campaign with his own money, but

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Beilenson

lost face when it was learned he hadn't voted in the last two elections. Perennial candidate Sang Korman, a local businessman, sat out most of the campaign before shipping in a bunch of mail at the end. Sybert's campaign against Beilenson figures to be very similar to the one his former boss will run against Kathleen Brown, spotlighting immigration and his opponent's liberal voting record. The political publication *Roll Call* has Sybert as its number-one congressional challenger, and defending Beilenson will be an expensive proposition for the national Democrats.

District 25 (39% D - 48% R)

Gilmartin (D)	**15,783**	**(63)**
Horning (D)	9,458	(37)
McKeon (R)*	**33,247**	**(82)**
Tulley (R)	7,321	(18)
Cutler (L)	**193**	**(100)**

The primary produces a rematch of 1992, pitting incumbent Howard "Buck" McKeon against retired military man James Gilmartin. McKeon's vote total two years ago was surprisingly low, given the district's registration, but he was not an incumbent then. Since going to Congress, McKeon has been elected chair of the congressional freshman delegation. He figures to have a much easier time this year.

District 26 (60% D - 27% R)

Berman (D)*	**18,883**	**(76)**
Broderson (D)	2,122	(9)
Glavan (D)	3,948	(16)
Forsch (R)	**6,616**	**(53)**
Furtuani (R)	1,952	(16)
Glass (R)	3,943	(32)
Miller (L)	**135**	**(100)**

Incumbent Howard Berman drew an unusually large primary field, but nothing he couldn't easily handle. He matches up in the fall against Gary Forsch, whom he beat by more than a two-to-one margin two years ago. Staying in office may be of less concern to Berman than the dwindling influence of the political machine he shares with fellow Congressman Henry Waxman. Its representation in the Assembly is gone, and its power was successfully challenged in local, as well as statewide races.

District 27 (44% D - 43% R)

Hurst (D)	6,585	(22)
Kahn (D)	**17,891**	**(60)**
Kulpa (D)	5,399	(18)
Michael (R)	9,703	(23)
Moorhead (R)*	**31,875**	**(77)**
Gibbs (AI)	**248**	**(100)**
Decherd (L)	**295**	**(100)**

Ten-term incumbent Carlos Moorhead faces a rematch with computer typographer Doug Kahn, against whom he only pulled 48 percent of the vote two years ago. Moorhead is one of the House's most conservative members, representing a district that went for Clinton in 1992 by roughly the national margin. All this would seem to spell a difficult time for Moorhead, except that his senior position in the delegation and his key committee posts will allow him to scoop up virtually unlimited campaign resources. The Democratic mood of voters two years ago will be dissipated somewhat as well, and Moorhead will also benefit from a heavy GOP effort on behalf of area Assemblyman William Hoge.

District 28 (41% D - 46% R)

Randle (D)	**27,605**	**(100)**
Dreier (R)*	**38,237**	**(100)**
Baker (L)	**158**	**(100)**

A GOP stronghold gives incumbent David Dreier an easy ride.

District 29 (58% D - 27% R)

Rappoport (D)	12,773	(20)
Waxman (D)*	**51,371**	**(80)**
Regan (R)	5,547	(24)
Stepanek (R)	**17,332**	**(76)**
Binkley (L)	**269**	**(100)**

Veteran incumbent Henry Waxman faced only token opposition from investigative reporter Jon Rappoport, whose single issue was Waxman's alleged stifling of herbal medications. Game, set, match — Waxman.

District 30 (61% D - 23% R)

Becerra (D)*	**17,570**	**(81)**
Valdes (D)	4,010	(19)
Ramirez (R)	**6,284**	**(100)**
Weilburg (L)	**106**	**(100)**

Freshman incumbent Xavier Becerra heads for his second term.

District 31 (59% D - 28% R)

Escalante (D)	4,338	(17)
Garcia (D)	5,924	(23)
Martinez (D)*	**14,550**	**(56)**
Romero (D)	1,377	(5)
Dominy (R)	4,744	(43)
Flores (R)	**6,189**	**(57)**

Incumbent Marty Martinez weathered yet another electoral assault on his seat, his integrity, his intelligence, his social skills, and his voting record by hopeful Bonifacio "Bonny" Garcia. Martinez is not regarded as one of the brightest legislative stars, but despite a series of mailers and cable television ads impugning virtually every aspect of the incumbent's performance and character, Garcia drew less than a quarter of the vote.

District 32 (76% D - 13% R)

Dixon (D)*	**48,856**	**(90)**
Duvall (D)	3,810	(7)
Yaker (D)	1,822	(3)
Cyrus (R)	2,775	(34)
Farhat (R)	**5,499**	**(66)**
Honigsfeld (P)	**76**	**(100)**

Incumbent Democrat Julian Dixon drew several challengers from both parties this year, but there was nothing to worry about.

District 33 (66% D - 20% R)

Greene (D)	2,825	(21)
Roybal-Allard (D)*	**10,398**	**(79)**
Booker (P)	**33**	**(100)**

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District 34 (62% D - 28% R)

Torres (D)*	**30,252**	**(100)**
Nunez (R)	**13,895**	**(100)**
Swinney (L)	**86**	**(100)**

No problem for veteran Esteban Torres.

District 35 (79% D - 11% R)

Waters (D)*	**30,636**	**(100)**
Truman (R)	**4,474**	**(100)**

Republican Nate Truman's 1992 run against Maxine Waters apparently gave him a taste for tilting at windmills.

District 36 (43% D - 42% R)

Harman (D)*	**37,027**	**(100)**
Brooks (R)	**22,617**	**(51)**
Florance (R)	21,315	(49)
Fields (AI)	**294**	**(100)**
Tyler (L)	**292**	**(100)**

Harman

Brooks

The sting of bitter campaign rhetoric has yet to settle in the South Bay. Rancho Palos Verdes Councilwoman Susan Brooks capped months of accusations against developer Ron Florance of "tainted business practices" with several last-minute hit pieces on the same subject. Florance, who had taken the high road for the majority of the campaign, finally jumped into the mud and sent out pieces accusing Brooks of running a smear campaign and calling her an opportunist for switching her party registration after moving to Rancho Palos Verdes. Although Florance had more money, much of it from his own pocket, Brooks eked out the victory. But Florance has hired an election attorney to advise him on whether or not he can sue Brooks for libel. The bitterness at least opens up the possibility that Florance and his supporters may be wooed into the camp of Democratic incumbent Jane Harman, who already has started a "Republicans for Harman" drive.With virtually no chance of matching Harman's money, Brooks will be certain to go sharply negative. This is a district that Republicans would dearly love to win back, and their effort may be tough, dirty and expensive. Harman, with her open checkbook, will be ready.

District 37 (77% D - 13% R)

Prulitsky (D)	4,963	(16)
Tucker (D)*	**26,507**	**(84)**
Wilson (L)	**37**	**(100)**

Los Angeles Times revelations that he was one of several officials being investigated by the FBI for corruption while on the Compton City Council didn't slow down incumbent Walter Tucker.

District 38 (50% D - 37% R)

Mathews (D)	**33,931**	**(100)**
Duke (R)	8,277	(24)
Horn (R)*	**26,054**	**(76)**
Mueller (L)	**240**	**(100)**
Green (P)	**97**	**(100)**

Steven Horn is an anomaly, a politician that doesn't accept PAC money. Primary opponent John Duke wasn't much of a challenge, but if Democrat Peter Mathews comes up with enough cash, November's race could heat up. Mathews has been busy raising funds, largely in the Asian communities outside of the district and out of state. National Democrats have reportedly agreed to pitch in if he can raise $200,000 by the end of June; at primary election time he had come up with about $80,000. Registration favors Democrats here, but barely. Democrats would love to escort Horn back to a life of university teaching, but Mathews will have to prove himself first.

District 39 (40% D - 48% R)

Davis (D)	**25,717**	**(100)**
Royce (R)*	**40,789**	**(100)**
Dean (L)	**249**	**(100)**

Incumbent Ed Royce will return to Washington for his second term.

District 40 (40% D - 46% R)

Biggers (D)	7,163	(24)
Rusk (D)	**22,457**	**(76)**
Craig (R)	8,818	(19)
Henderson (R)	2,149	(5)
Lewis (R)*	**32,981**	**(69)**
Schmitter (R)	3,580	(8)

Congressional Republicans may be grumpy with incumbent Jerry Lewis for his moderate views, but he's still a force in San Bernardino County. The handful of Republican opponents didn't even slow him down. Nor will the Democrat.

District 41 (40% D - 48% R)

Tessier (D)	**11,394**	**(60)**
Waldron (D)	7,657	(40)
Curtis (R)	1,326	(4)
Kerns (R)	6,239	(19)
Kim (R)*	**13,304**	**(41)**
Romero (R)	6,729	(21)
Thakar (R)	5,013	(15)

Incumbent Jay Kim was fortunate that there were so many GOP opponents, and that most of them were political newcomers. Kim was such an inviting target because of ongoing investigations over the funding of his 1992 race. Kim hasn't been officially charged with anything, but the local papers have been full of bad publicity. Kim has maintained his innocence. In 1992, the Korean-born Kim heavily outspent his opponents for a newly created congressional seat, then easily beat his Democratic opponent. Despite the large primary field this year, Kim dodged two bullets when a pair of other contenders decided not to run — Assemblyman Paul Horcher and attorney James Lacy, who filed an FEC complaint after losing to Kim in 1992. Among those who did file, Valerie Romero was thought to have the best chance, given her ability to raise family money. But neither she nor the others spent enough cash to hammer Kim's negatives to his hide, and the incumbent won handily. Democrat Ed Tessier will need a miracle — like Kim being arrested at an untimely moment.

District 42 (53% D - 37% R)

Brown (D)*	**21,443**	**(100)**
Guzman (R)	**11,772**	**(59)**
LaBine (R)	6,721	(34)
Sanchez (R)	1,343	(7)

Brown

Guzman

Republican Rob Guzman is yet another in a long line of attractive challengers who have gone to war with incumbent Democrat George Brown. Guzman, a Latino, has money, a polished campaign and some appeal to the district's substantial Latino population. Brown has been around Congress since 1962, however, and that longevity can bring pork for his district. For instance, as chairman of the House Science, Space and Technology Committee, he's in a position to help salve the area's economy, devastated by cutbacks in the aerospace industry. Unfortunately, Brown also is an unreconstructed liberal who often has criticized pork flowing into other districts. As a result, the

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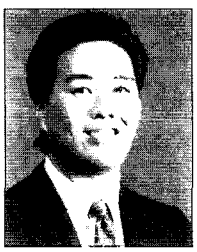
district has lost projects and grants as congressional colleagues forced him to live by his words. Not that Guzman's slate is clean. Two years ago, he was a congressional candidate in East Los Angeles against Lucille Roybal-Allard. Brown, at least, is a lifelong resident of the Inland Empire.

District 43 (41% D - 47% R)

Takano (D)	**20,394**	**(70)**
Workman (D)	8,726	(30)
Calvert (R)*	**20,347**	**(51)**
Khoury (R)	19,326	(49)
Berkman (L)	**272**	**(100)**



Takano

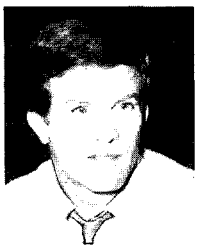
Calvert

Incumbent Ken Calvert barely made it past the primary against his 1992 foe — conservative UC professor Joseph Khoury. Khoury had some political mud to sling because the incumbent was caught by Corona police in his car with a self-described prostitute. Police apparently tried to hush things up, and Calvert lied to the media about the incident, then was exposed when the *Riverside Press-Enterprise* sued to see the police report. Khoury was almost able to capitalize on the incident, although he apparently is too conservative for the district and locals worried that he might lose the general if he beat Calvert. Not that Calvert is any shoo-in. Democrat Mark Takano nearly beat Calvert in 1992, when the Republican was not buried under a scandal. To complicate matters, Republican Bob Lynn has declared as a write-in candidate.

District 44 (44% D - 44% R)

Clute (D)	**20,502**	**(60)**
McCartney (D)	11,233	(33)
Schroeder (D)	2,298	(7)
Bono (R)	**24,344**	**(49)**
Bretz (R)	2,693	(5)
DeLong (R)	5,385	(11)
Larson (R)	13,906	(28)
Mathewson (R)	2,129	(4)
Silva (R)	1,298	(3)
Cochran (AI)	**503**	**(100)**

California has sent entertainers to Washington before; witness George Murphy and Ronald Reagan. In keeping with that tradition, California now presents Sonny Bono, the former mayor of Palm Springs and GOP nominee. Bono trounced a large primary field for the right to succeed longtime GOP incumbent Al McCandless, who is retiring. Among that field was Riverside County Supervisor Corky Larson, who didn't mount much of a campaign until the final weeks when it was too late. While Larson was snoozing, Bono loaned himself a load of cash and heavily cruised the district, accompa-



Clute

Bono

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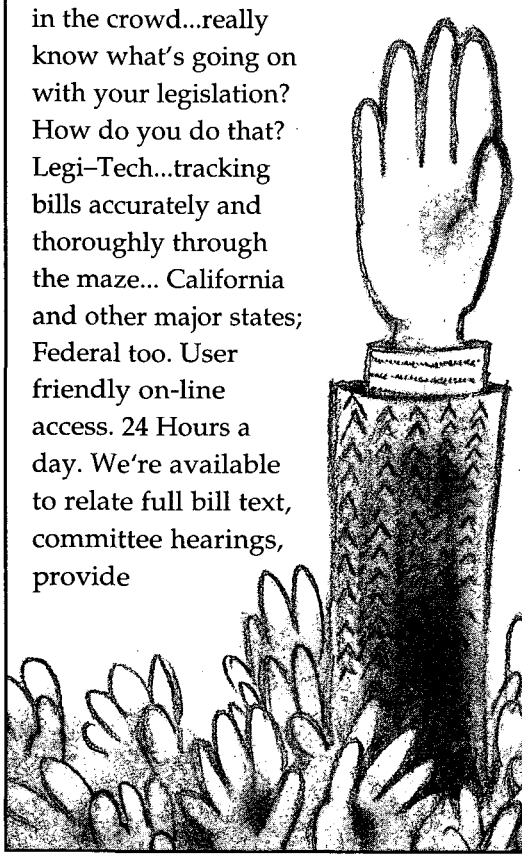

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nied by campaign manager Bruce Herschensohn. Bono's victory now sets up what one pundit called "the battle of the thought-challenged," for the Democratic nominee is former Assemblyman Steve Clute, who never would have been included on a list of the Legislature's intellectual titans. Clute, a moderate and a good campaigner, never was able to raise much money on his own as an assemblyman, relying instead on the largesse of Speaker Willie Brown. Brown's pipeline is closed to Clute, and his fund-raising ability is suspect. He'll need to improve to keep pace with Bono, who has his own potent pipeline to the entertainment community. Still, a lot of money will be spent here by Democrats trying to protect AD 80 Assemblywoman Julie Bornstein, and some of the spillover may help Clute.

District 45 (35% D - 51% R)

Williamson (D)	**22,886**	**(100)**
Rohrabacher (R)*	**43,386**	**(100)**

Dana Rohrabacher has been immigrant bashing for years, and it should stand him in good stead in 1994.

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District 46 (47% D - 41% R)

Arakelian (D)	2,325	(15)
Banuelos (D)	4,483	(29)
Eckenrode (D)	1,437	(9)
Farber (D)	**4,625**	**(30)**
Ivler (D)	1,543	(10)
Payne (D)	1,225	(8)
Dornan (R)*	**17,259**	**(100)**
Newhouse (L)	**140**	**(100)**

Of the host of Democrat candidates who fought for the chance to take on incumbent Bob Dornan, Mike Farber had the most polished campaign. Democrats have wanted to take out Dornan for years, and while he always seems vulnerable in this increasingly minority district, he always manages to win. In 1992, Democrat Robert Banuelos gained a good chunk of the vote after spending almost no money and after Dornan had been softened up in a bruising primary. Dornan had no opposition this time around. Banuelos almost became the candidate again, but was squeezed out by Farber's money and polish. Farber comes to the race with some baggage; in 1992, he lost a Democratic congressional primary in San Diego and is open to charges of carpetbagging. And Bob Dornan knows how to loudly exploit baggage.

District 47 (30% D - 56% R)

Kingsbury (D)	**21,844**	**(100)**
Cox (R)*	**50,280**	**(85)**
Frogue (R)	8,712	(15)
Wagner (L)	**332**	**(100)**

Chris Cox has this district under his thumb.

District 48 (30% D - 55% R)

Leschick (D)	**20,523**	**(100)**
Mayerhofer (R)	11,182	(19)
Packard (R)*	**46,450**	**(81)**
White (P)	**52**	**(100)**

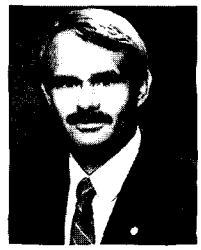
Ron Packard goes back to Congress.

District 49 (40% D - 42% R)

Schenk (D)*	**36,435**	**(100)**
Bilbray (R)	**24,291**	**(51)**
Conway (R)	2,817	(6)
Joseph (R)	3,023	(6)
Steel (R)	17,496	(37)
Hoogenboom (L)	**553**	**(100)**
Kline (P)	**114**	**(100)**

Lynn Schenk sits at the top of the GOP's kill list, and one look at the registration shows that the first-term Democrat is in for a very tough autumn. Party loyalty tends to be shallow in San Diego, but Schenk defeated political novice Judy Jarvis in 1992 by outspending her seven-

Schenk


Bilbray

to-one. That kind of money is coming in again for Schenk, and her most recent bankrolls showed her to be approaching $700,000. But the GOP thinks it has a more formidable opponent for her this time in San Diego Supervisor Brian Bilbray, and it intends to match Schenk's money. In addition, Bilbray refrained from displaying his notoriously short temper during a hard-hitting primary. Local observers think Bilbray can self-destruct if attacked the wrong (or right) way, and Schenk no doubt will be probing his soft spots in a campaign that will sizzle all the way through election day.

District 50 (51% D - 34% R)

Filner (D)*	**23,399**	**(100)**
Acevedo (R)	**15,508**	**(100)**
Duenez (L)	**146**	**(100)**
Ramirez (P)	**72**	**(100)**
Kruger (G)	**80**	**(68)**
None (G)	38	(32)

Freshman incumbent Bob Filner returns to Congress.

District 51 (31% D - 51% R)

Perry (D)	11,535	(38)
Tamerius (D)	**19,034**	**(62)**
Cunningham (R)*	**54,205**	**(86)**
Pando (R)	9,135	(14)
Holmes (L)	**519**	**(100)**
Clark (P)	**87**	**(100)**

Randy Cunningham, the first Vietnam fighter ace in Congress, will fly right through November's election.

District 52 (39% D - 45% R)

Brown (D)	6,734	(19)
Cochran (D)	9,527	(27)
Gastil (D)	**18,649**	**(53)**
Hunter (R)*	**42,680**	**(100)**
Shea (L)	**383**	**(100)**
Edelman (P)	**102**	**(100)**

Duncan Hunter was vulnerable two years ago when he bounced 399 checks at the now-defunct congressional bank and suffered from an anti-Bush groundswell in his district. Even with all that, Democrat Janet Gastil barely ruffled him. She doesn't have the same advantages this year.

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The Bottom Line

By Susan Rasky

California, which likes to think of itself as an incubator for national trends and which brags of being the world's eighth largest economy, is about to take a serious step toward political maturity and informed self awareness. It is going to have a think tank that focuses on state policy issues. With all due deference to Stanford's Hoover Institution, Santa Monica's RAND and assorted other public and private research organizations who have built their reputations by studiously avoiding what goes on here in their own back yard, hallelujah!

No matter that this new Public Policy Institute of California — funded by a $70 million endowment from computer mogul William Hewlett and slated to begin operation early next year somewhere in the Bay Area — has been born of adversity.

What is important, far beyond whatever studies and analyses its experts may produce, is the emergence of a statewide consciousness that the institute's creation seems to represent. In a state where media markets are so fractured and where policy-making is deemed so irrelevant that no radio or television station outside of Sacramento bothers maintaining a bureau to cover the government regularly, a little consciousness raising couldn't hurt. If the institute provides nothing more than a repository of expertise for journalists scrambling to get quotes on deadline and succeeds merely in engaging the attention of policy movers and shapers outside the Capitol building, it will have accomplished a great deal.

The public policy experts and aficionados in California's universities and sprinkled throughout the state bureaucracy are hoping, of course, for much bigger things. The sheer volume and diversity of their research wish lists are a measure of how large a vacuum the new think tank fills.

For economist Eugene Smolensky, dean of the Graduate School of Public Policy at UC-Berkeley, the fondest hope is that the institute will become the catalyst for upgrading and expanding the collection of state and local economic data. He points to the contradictory signals about California unemployment from flawed household and establishment surveys used to analyze the labor force or the gaps in the national income accounts that make it all but impossible to measure private domestic investment at the state level.

"Are we missing a lot of start-up companies, are we underestimating the number of men under age 30 who are leaving the state? We have excellent demographers at the Department of Finance, but we don't know because the employment data are a mess," Smolensky says. "And if you asked me to test whether the result of Proposition 13 has been to decrease public investment while increasing private investment I couldn't tell you because we lack the data."

"It's stunning how little good analysis is done on California problems," says Martin Anderson, a Hoover fellow who served as a White House domestic and economic policy adviser during the first two years of Ronald Reagan's presidency and who now serves as a member of the state economic advisory council Governor Pete Wilson organized two years ago. The council is chaired by former Secretary of State George Schultz, also at Hoover.

"If you are a professor who starts messing around with something that's important, relevant and timely you lose status in today's academic world. California is the biggest of the 50 states but it's still not national or international. A lot of people were stunned that George Schultz would actually accept the governor's appointment," Anderson says.

For Phillip Romero, director of the Wilson administration's Office of Policy and Planning Research, the institute offers the prospect of high quality, policy relevant research free of the budgetary constraints or partisan and institutional wrangling that often hamper analyses produced by policy staff in the Legislature and the state bureaucracy.

That need predates the budget crises of the past several years, and universities throughout the state have tried, often reluctantly and with mixed results, to meet at least part of it. Jane Pisano, dean of the School of Public Administration at USC, has spent the last year trying to organize a consortium of universities and other state research organizations to provide help in a more useful and timely way. "Once the California Public Policy Consortium is up and running, we expect policy makers to be our key clients for access to existing research and for the commissioning of new studies," she says.

In the meantime, Romero is refining his personal wish list for the new think tank. It includes a detailed examination of the reasons for caseload growth in social welfare programs, a study of economic development strategies that explains why sales and productivity may increase without actually boosting employment or then again maybe a non-polemic analysis of the fiscal policy impact of immigration at the Federal state and local levels. Right now all sides in the immigration debate have very big stakes in using the current data selectively, he says, and no one is assessing the more subtle questions of how costs might vary among different types of immigrants at different points in their life cycles.

Nobody is more conscious of the huge expectations building up for the new think tank than the man who will head it, David Lyon — currently RAND's corporate vice president for external affairs. Lyon, a 22-year RAND veteran whose own expertise is city and regional planning and public finance, plans to model the institute on Washington's Brookings Institute. He talks of putting together a broad-based, non-partisan staff — initially about 20 researchers — that will focus on issues ranging from education to economic development, environment and social welfare.

Bruce Cain, a political science professor at UC-Berkeley and associate director of UC's Institute of Governmental Studies, says a major hurdle for Lyon and the researchers he brings together will be translating public policy ideas into action. "I guess the real question is whether our problem is a lack of good ideas in California or lack of the ability to implement them."

The answer is surely both, which means that Hewlett, Lyon and Roger Heyns, who will serve as the institute's chairman, deserve substantial credit if only for wanting to rise to the challenge.

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Senate

Reapportionment naturally scrambles the state's elec toral map but the situation always is exacerbated in the Senate, where only half the house stands for election every two years. In 1992, the first election under the redistricting of 1991, only odd-numbered districts were involved. For the past two years, senators in even-numbered districts still represented enclaves drawn in 1983. Now, those old "evens" finally slip into history, replaced by new districts that in some cases have been radically altered. Overall, the beneficiary of this change would seem to be the Republican Party. Currently, Democrats hold 22 of the upper house's 40 seats.

But Democrats hold the vast majority of the 20 seats up for election in 1994. Of those "evens," 14 currently are held by Democrats, five by Republicans and one by independent Quentin Kopp. Of the Democratic seats, three (6th, 18th and 36th) are regarded as vulnerable, five (2nd, 12th, 28th, 32nd and 40th) are on a "watch" list and six are safe. Republicans, on the other hand, have only one vulnerable district, the 16th now held by Phil Wyman. Republican incumbent Maurice Johannessen's 4th District is on a "watch" list.

The June primary itself yielded few surprises, although there were some hard-fought contests. The most seriously endangered incumbent was octagenarian Democrat Ralph Dills, who beat back a strong challenge from Torrance Councilman George Nakano in the 28th District. Dills survived but attracted less than 50 percent of the vote. Another Democrat who turned in an underwhelming performance was Assemblyman Richard Polanco, considered a shoo-in in the 22nd District. Political neophyte Yolanda Gonzales got 41 percent of the vote against one of the most powerful Latino politicians in the state.

On the Republican side, only the Ray Haynes-Cois Byrd send up in Riverside County's 36th District generated any heat. The conservative Haynes won convincingly over moderate Byrd, the Riverside County sheriff. The district is being vacated by veteran incumbent Democrat Bob Presley.

As for the fall, the two politicians on the hottest seats are safe in their own districts — Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer and GOP Senator Rob Hurtt. Lockyer is in his first months as the Senate's top Democrat, and he is responsible for keeping his party in charge. Hurtt is the squeaky wheel freshman who is considered a threat to Minority Leader Ken Maddy's leadership. Earlier this year, Hurtt grumped about the GOP being too complacent with minority status, and as a reward, he was made chairman of the Senate Republican's campaign effort. Failure to gain ground on the Democrats could relegate Hurtt to the ash heap inside his own caucus.

Lockyer, on the other hand, is under the gun because so many in his caucus are exposed. His situation is like a scene from the epic film about Pearl Harbor, *"Tora, Tora, Tora."* Lockyer plays the role of Truman Landon, an air corps major in charge of a squadron of B-17s that tried to land on Oahu just as the Japanese arrived for their rendezvous with history. Landon's observation: "What a way to enter a war."

(Only *even-numbered* districts stand for election this year)

Key: D = Democrat; R = Republican; AI = American Independent; L = Libertarian; P = Peace and Freedom; G = Green; * = incumbent; 🔥 = hot race; winners in **bold**; (#) = percent of the vote, rounded to nearest whole number.

District 2 (55% D - 31% R)

Thompson (D)*	**76,017**	**(100)**
McMichael (R)	**49,230**	**(100)**
Elizondo (P)	**323**	**(100)**

Neither incumbent Mike Thompson nor Mendocino County Supervisor Frank McMichael had a primary challenger, so the battle — if there is one — will begin in the fall. Thompson used to represent the neighboring 4th District but last year won the special election to replace Democrat Barry Keene in the old, pre-reapportioment 2nd District. Thompson was hedging his bets, for his St. Helena home was included in this, the *new* 2nd District.

District 4 (48% D - 38% R)

McGowan (D)	**38,546**	**(59)**
Podva (D)	26,309	(41)
Johannessen (R)*	**55,236**	**(100)**

Maurice Johannessen, a wealthy real estate developer and former Shasta County supervisor, beat Democrat Montana Podva last year in a special election to replace incumbent Democrat Mike Thompson, who won yet another special in District 2 (see above). It was Podva's best shot, because he lost this primary to Yolo County Supervisor Mike McGowan, a moderate Democrat who was the first mayor of West Sacramento when that city was incorporated in 1986. Although moderate Republicans may be uncomfortable with Johannessen's conservativism, McGowan will have trouble mobilizing Davis liberals and hill county moderates into a coalition to counter Johannessen. Johannessen not only spent about a half million dollars of his own money to win this seat last year, and could do so again if he wished, he also has close ties with the always generous Allied Business PAC. Those two features may keep Senate Democrats from helping McGowan win a marginal seat.

🔥District 6 (54% D - 34% R)

Greene (D)*	**61,369**	**(100)**
Cox (R)	**43,567**	**(100)**

This race is expected to be lively when longtime incumbent Leroy Greene, 76, faces 56-year-old Dave Cox, a Sacramento supervisor. The two began campaigning against each other months ago. Greene has represented the area for 32 years, including 20 as an as-

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Greene

Cox

semblyman. Cox, an insurance executive who served on the Sacramento Municipal Utility District for nearly four years, is well-known and considered a formidable challenger. Registration leans Democratic, but GOP leaders are taking a serious look.

District 8 (58% D - 24% R)

Fitzgerald (D)	**47,307**	**(100)**
Lea (R)	7,999	(32)
Spinosa (R)	**16,739**	**(68)**
Valverde (L)	**269**	**(100)**

The name not mentioned above is that of the incumbent — independent Quentin Kopp, who did not appear on a primary ballot. The acerbic Kopp is something of a legend in San Francisco politics and should easily retain his seat.

District 10 (55% D - 30% R)

Lockyer (D)*	**45,791**	**(100)**
Forsberg (R)	8,513	(32)
Smith (R)	**17,870**	**(68)**

Democrat Bill Lockyer's election headaches come elsewhere. As the new pro tem, he's responsible for retaining the Democrats' control of the Senate in a year when many Democratic districts are at risk. His own election is assured.

District 12 (50% D - 38% R)

McCorquodale (D)*	**44,278**	**(100)**
Monteith (R)	**39,869**	**(100)**
DeGroat (L)	**193**	**(100)**

When Dan McCorquodale was elected to the Senate in 1982, his district straddled both Santa Clara and Stanislaus counties. But the current version, after reapportionment, is located entirely in the San Joaquin Valley, and although Democrats have done well here, registration suggests Republicans have a fighting chance. Their standard-bearer is Richard Monteith, an agri-businessman who's already gotten hefty support from Allied Business PAC and gun lobbies. Monteith vows to oppose all tax hikes and to stand up to "wild-eyed environmentalists" who would threaten the district's farm base. That may be too conservative for local voters, but Democrats are gearing for a difficult race.

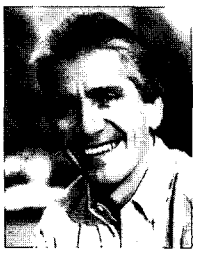
District 14 (43% D - 47% R)

Hagopian (D)	**40,009**	**(100)**
Maddy (R)*	**59,940**	**(100)**

Ken Maddy, the Senate minority leader, returns for his final term in the Senate.

District 16 (58% D - 32% R)

Costa (D)	**31,263**	**(100)**
Wyman (R)*	**24,561**	**(100)**


Costa

Wyman

The *old* 16th District was Republican; the *new* version is Democratic, which is why its former incumbent — Republican Don Rogers — decided to leave for greener pasturers in 1992. His seat was filled by Republican Phil Wyman, who won a March 1993 special election — in the old district — by defeating Democratic Assemblyman Jim Costa. Now, Wyman must defend his seat against Costa in the new district, which is decidedly Democratic in outlook. Costa, a moderate Democrat, already represents half of the district. Wyman, on the other hand, isn't just any old Republican; he's one of the most conservative Republicans in Sacramento. Voters in the new SD 16 have a history of backing moderate Democrats with ties to agriculture — a label that fits Costa nicely and which has gained him the support of some prominent area Republicans, including rancher John Harris. Wyman says a GOP registration drive has cut into Costa's advantage, but it better have cut deeply.

District 18 (45% D - 40% R)

O'Connell (D)	**55,584**	**(100)**
Decker (R)	27,222	(41)
MacElvaine (R)	**39,154**	**(59)**

Incumbent Democrat Gary Hart decided to give up politics for a while, leaving his Republican-leaning seat open. Democrats rushed into the breach with popular Assemblyman Jack O'Connell, who is used to attracting crossover support from Republicans. Unfortunately, O'Connell isn't very well known in the San Luis Obispo County portion of this district, where Republicans tend to be more conservative than in his home base of Santa Barbara County. Nor were O'Connell's chances

O'Connell

helped when Republicans nominated the more moderate candidate — rancher-businessman Steve MacElvaine, who beat ultra-conservative Steve Decker. MacElvaine, who is pro-choice and against off shore oil drilling, has spent over $120,000 on media advertising and his bankroll has not been replenished. O'Connell, on the other hand, has $300,000 in the bank and is the beneficiary of an aggressive voter-registration drive in San Luis Obispo County. He also will take his relentless campaign technique into the new territory.

District 20 (58% D - 29% R)

Del Rio (D)	9,091	(26)
Rosenthal (D)*	**26,378**	**(74)**
Dib (R)	3,819	(20)
Linkmeyer (R)	3,162	(17)
Martz (R)	1,679	(9)
White (R)	**9,975**	**(54)**

This spring's turmoil over the failed recall of outgoing incumbent Senator David Roberti turned this primary into something of an anti-climax, and will make the general election even less exciting. The main contest was on the Republican side, as four contenders who appeared together on the recall ballot went at it again. Without the steam of the recall to energize them, pro-gunners Randy Linkmeyer and Al Dib seemed to lose interest. Larry Martz, who identified himself as a "corruption-fighter," was considered something of a flake. That left recall activist Dolores White as the only candidate who seemed hot to actually be in the Senate. She took over the offices of the recall campaign and built on her standing as the candidate who would have served had Roberti been recalled. The Democratic race was even less contested, as veteran Senator Herschel Rosenthal moves over to the Valley for what would be his final term. Although he faces some grumbling about carpetbagging, he has represented large sections of the district in past reapportionments, and the registration should carry him easily past White in the fall.

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District 22 (63% D - 21% R)

Gonzales (D)	9,061	(41)
Polanco (D)	**13,239**	**(59)**
Lee (R)	**5,880**	**(100)**
Way (L)	**106**	**(100)**
Wolff (P) 114		**(100)**

Assemblyman Richard Polanco is an institution in this area. But his opponent, Yolanda Gonzalez, polled surprisingly well for having virtually no campaign. Polanco spent much of his time and resources backing his former aide, Bill Mabie, in a bid for Polanco's Assembly seat, a campaign marred by last-minute mud orchestrated by Polanco. Observers say that some of Gonzalez' strong showing could be attributed to backlash from the Mabie campaign. Either way, Polanco now is a senator.

District 24 (58% D - 28% R)

Chavez (D)	4,836	(14)
Moses (D)	8,259	(24)
Solis (D)	**21,647**	**(62)**
Boyer (R)	**14,353**	**(100)**
Feger (L)	**85**	**(100)**

Freshman Assemblywoman Hilda Solis didn't have to wait long for her promotion to the Senate. After one term in the lower house, she handily defeated Azusa Mayor Eugene Moses to take over Art Torres' vacated seat. An undisputed favorite among the district's Democratic powers-that-be, Solis upset Moses' plans for the seat by entering the race after he had been running for nearly a year. Establishment support for Moses dried up, and he was left with fewer dollars than hopes. He tried to raise last-minute questions with a mailer stating that Solis refused to "take the pledge," implying that she supported the legislative pay raise. But it wasn't enough to overcome Solis' name, fund-raising and presence on several high-profile slate mailers.

District 26 (80% D - 10% R)

Watson (D)*	**51,101**	**(100)**
Davidson (R)	3,423	(49)
Piechowski (R)	**3,544**	**(51)**
Weber (L)	**89**	**(100)**
Saededdin (P)	**69**	**(100)**

Republicans need not apply.

District 28 (52% D - 33% R)

Dills (D)*	**23,366**	**(47)**
Nakano (D)	17,115	(34)
Rodda (D)	4,019	(8)
Sidley (D)	5,734	(11)
Cohen (R)	**27,782**	**(100)**
Donner (L)	**268**	**(100)**
Henderson (P)	**108**	**(100)**

Dills

Nakano

Ralph Dills had both sides of the aisle rooting for him. As one of the oldest incumbents in state history, the Senate Democrats naturally supported him. But Republicans were no less effusive in welcoming Dills' victory; they believe that Redondo Beach attorney David Barret Cohen will run a better race against the octogenarian Dills than he

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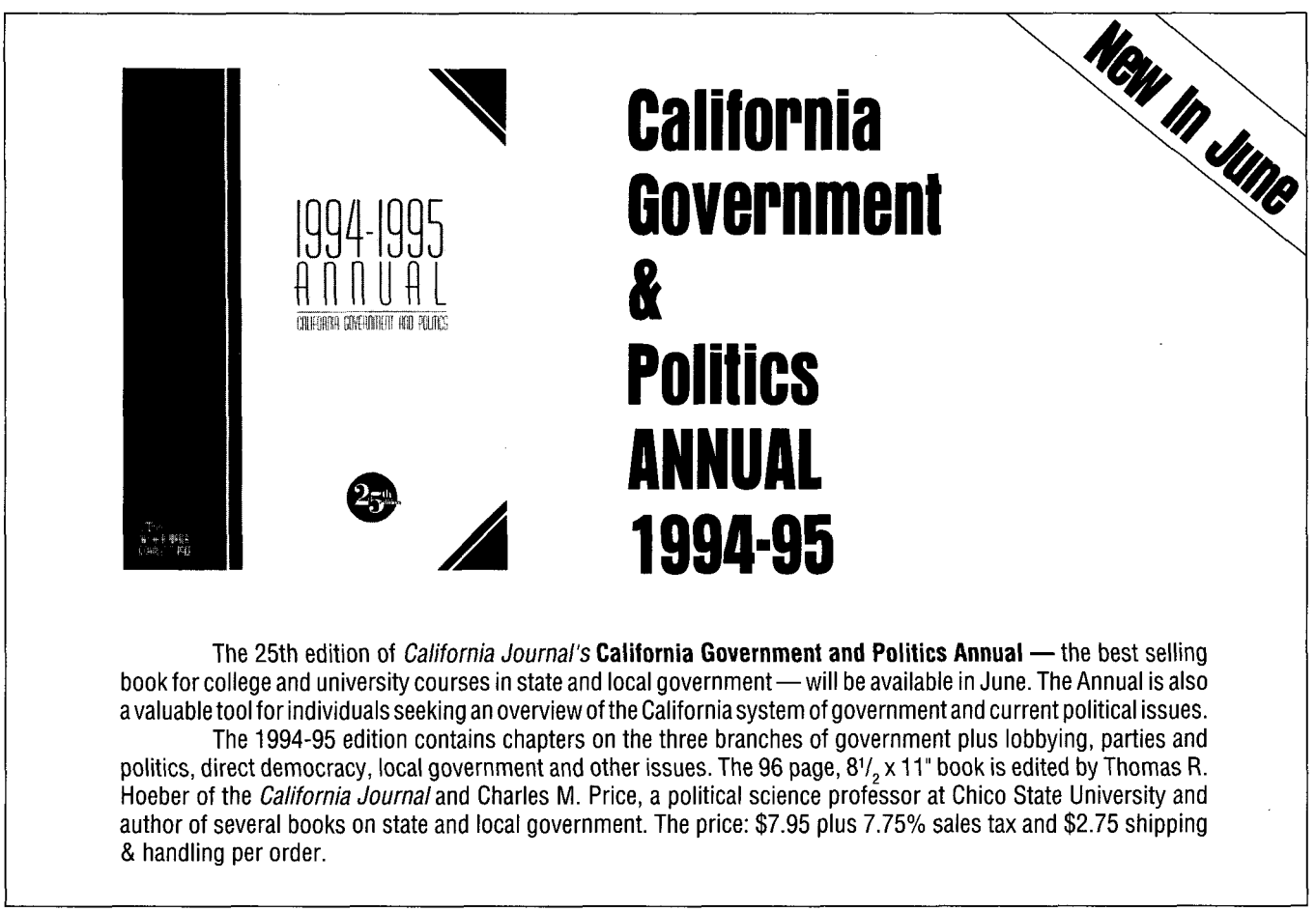
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would have against Torrance Councilman George Nakano. Nakano ran a strong campaign in a district given a spit personality by reapportionment. Dills was invincible in his old base, but the more affluent beach communities didn't know him, and didn't fit the working-class profile that Dills has historically appealed to. Nakano dug at Dills' age and portrayed the incumbent as a politician isolated in special-interest-ridden Sacramento. With strong fund raising and lots of loans from his family and his own pocket, Nakano had cash for cable TV advertisements, mailers, and the services of consultant Darry Sragow. Unfortunately for Nakano, there were two other Democrats, who split the fruits of his efforts. Dills received a flood of money from PACs, the state party, and Senate colleagues. He sent out 15 pieces of mail and appeared on several slates. Dills, who will have all the money he needs in the fall, has been softened up by the primary. Whether Cohen is able to capitalize may depend on how much Senate Republicans are willing to invest in him.

District 30 (65% D - 24% R)		
Calderon (D)*	**28,977**	**(100)**
Gonzalez (R)	4,376	(34)
Gow (R)	**8,397**	**(66)**

Republican Ken Gow should try another seat. Incumbent Charles Calderon has this one reserved.

District 32 (53% D - 37% R)		
Ayala (D)*	**24,540**	**(100)**
deVries (R)	**19,861**	**(100)**

Incumbent Ruben Ayala benefited from reapportionment with a district that is slightly better for Democrats. Four years ago, in a worse district, he beat a popular GOP assemblyman — Chuck Bader. He ought to have an easier time in '94.

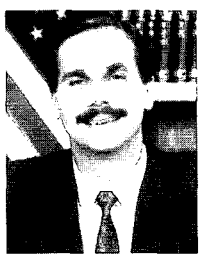
District 34 (46% D - 42% R)		
Chessen (D)	**14,458**	**(60)**
Nelson (D)	9,526	(40)
Adomitis (R)	6,437	(22)
Hurtt (R)*	**23,015**	**(78)**
Reimer (L)	**207**	**(100)**

Incumbent Rob Hurtt, one of the founders of the conservative Allied Business PAC, had no problem in his primary and shouldn't have much in the general. Still, it won't be easy, if for no other reason than Democrats would like to force him to campaign at home and thus be less available to Republican challengers elsewhere in the state. His November opponent, Garden Grove Councilwoman Donna Chessen, is well known in the district, but her ability to match Hurtt's resources will depend on Senate Democrats.

District 36 (39% D - 49% R)		
Ceniceros (D)	**29,826**	**(77)**
Powell (D)	9,152	(23)
Byrd (R)	24,316	(40)
Haynes (R)	**36,352**	**(60)**
Sarosi (L)	**393**	**(100)**

This district changed radically after redistricting, and longtime incumbent Democrat Robert Presley finally decided to pull the plug on his Senate career; he's running for the Board of Equalization. Into the breach has stepped Assemblyman Ray Haynes, a hard-core conservative, who earned the nomination after a hard-fought primary against Riverside County Sheriff Cois Byrd. Despite Byrd's law-enforcement experience, Haynes appeared the better fighter. Byrd's hesitation to mix it up with Haynes cost him the votes among area newcomers, who know nothing of his reputation. Haynes' win may cause Democrats to rethink their chances, since they consider him too conservative for the district. Riverside County Supervisor Kay Ceniceros already has had help from Sacramento, and more may be on the way — regardless of those daunting registration numbers.

Byrd



Haynes

District 38 (31% D - 52% R)		
Berry (D)	**17,794**	**(55)**
Lara (D)	14,605	(45)
Craven (R)*	**65,235**	**(100)**
Anderson (L)	**532**	**(100)**
Nikl (P)	**103**	**(100)**

Incumbent Bill Craven often is in ill health, but he'll win anyway.

District 40 (46% D - 39% R)		
Peace (D)*	**28,684**	**(77)**
Pickard (D)	8,333	(23)
Ghougassian (R)	**32,276**	**(100)**
Gibbs (L)	**258**	**(100)**
Pelayo (P)	**96**	**(100)**

Peace

Ghougassian

This race is a rematch of last December's special election to replace Democrat Waddie Deddeh. Then-Assemblyman Steve Peace won the runoff after a hard-fought primary. His opponent then, as now, was Republican Joe Ghougassian, a former Reagan staffer and once ambassador to the Middle East nation of Qatar. The two of them spent over a $1 million on that runoff. But that special election was in the old, pre-reapportionment 40th, which had a higher Democratic registration. The new district gained the conservative city of El Cajon, and overall registration is much less favorable. for Peace, although San Diegans tend to vote independently regardless of party label. Senate Republicans would love to capture this toehold.

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Assembly

Two years ago, the Republican Party's reapportionment-inspired dreams of conquest in the Assembly turned into a nightmare of missed opportunities. Democrats rode the recession and a solid ground organization to a net gain of one seat in 1992, dashing GOP hopes of possibly even taking control of the Assembly. While they have scaled back their dreams somewhat, the GOP is still looking to 1994 as the year in which the promise of reapportionment will finally begin to be realized. The primary did produce some troublesome match-ups for the GOP, but overall, the grand plan remains on schedule. Democrats, meanwhile, didn't have to wait until November to lose an incumbent, as voters in Marin County felled the imperious Assemblywoman Vivien Bronshvag.

The GOP's bid to shrink the Democrats' 48-32 edge begins with five open Democratic seats. The candidate considered to be the GOP's strongest won in all five. Then there are a slew of Democratic incumbents who can be classified as vulnerable, either by registration or by the weakness of the incumbent. The prime GOP targets are Democrats Betty Karnette, Bob Epple and Julie Bornstein. Republicans also believe they can beat Tom Connolly this time around with conservative Steve Baldwin. Other possible targets include Margaret Snyder, Debra Bowen and Dede Alpert.

While they are much more concerned about playing defense, Democrats are not without their opportunities. The GOP seats being vacated by Charles Quackenbush and Dean Andal are considered winnable, with the party nominating its strongest candidates in both races. GOP incumbents Bill Hoge of Pasadena and Bruce McPherson of Monterey are the prime targets. For Democrats, though, the June election may prove distinctive for the history made in the Los Angeles district being vacated by Terry Friedman. Sheila Kuehl, whose first claim to fame was as an actress on the old "Dobie Gillis Show," is considered better than even money to become the first openly homosexual member of the California Legislature.

Key: D = Democrat; R = Republican; AI = American Independent; L = Libertarian; P = Peace and Freedom; G = Green; * = incumbent; 🔥 = hot race; winners in **bold**; (#) = percent of vote, rounded to nearest whole number.

District 1 (53% D - 31% R)		
Hauser (D)*	**33,915**	**(69)**
Scott (D)	15,554	(31)
Baird (R)	**26,765**	**(100)**
Harris (L)	**275**	**(100)**

Some folks in this schizophrenic district don't like incumbent Democrat Dan Hauser. His primary opponent — Karen Scott, vice chair of the state Democratic Party Rural Caucus and head of the Mendocino County Commission on the Status of Women — says her campaign was merely an effort to do some advance work for 1996, but she still managed to siphon off nearly a third of the vote. Still, those are Democrats, and Republican John Baird, chairman of the Mendocino County Central Committee, won't be able to capitalize.

District 2 (44% D - 43% R)		
Bainbridge (D)	28,670	(100)
Bundy (R)	16,716	(42)
Woods (R)	**23,453**	**(58)**
Schwartz (L)	**262**	**(100)**

Longtime incumbent Republican Stan Statham left this seat for his unsuccessful bid to become lieutenant governor, and the race to succeed him probably was decided in the GOP primary. The winner was Tom Woods, a former Statham field representative and former announcer for an inspirational radio station in Redding, who beat Burt Bundy, a former Tehama supervisor. Woods got the early endorsement of Statham, as well as help from the Right to Life PAC and the conservative Allied Business PAC.

District 3 (43% D - 42% R)		
Chapman (D)	**29,169**	**(100)**
Richter (R)*	**38,629**	**(100)**

Incumbent Bernie Richter had a far tougher time in 1992, when he ran against six other Republicans for an open seat. He should have an easy time this fall, as well. Democrat Jim Chapman may be a Lassen County supervisor, but Lassen contributes territory, not votes, to the district.

District 4 (41% D - 46% R)		
Fish (D)	**19,727**	**(56)**
Norberg (D)	15,782	(44)
Klang (R)	9,997	(20)
Knowles (R)*	**39,199**	**(80)**
Smith (L)	**393**	**(100)**

Two-term incumbent David Knowles barely flexed a finger to defeat his primary opponent and may not have to do even that much to win in November.

District 5 (45% D - 43% R)		
Barry (D)	**17,036**	**(57)**
Davis (D)	13,078	(43)
Alby (R)*	**29,089**	**(100)**

As she did two years ago, Joan Barry, director of Serve Our Seniors, defeated Linda Davis, a SMUD director and engineer. But now the going gets tough for a Democrat in this Sacramento-area district. Incumbent Barbara Alby, who beat Barry in a special election last year, should have no trouble doing it again.

🔥District 6 (54% D - 30% R)		
Bronshvag (D)*	23,518	(49)
Mazzoni (D)	**24,446**	**(51)**
Sobel (R)	**22,839**	**(100)**
Persily (P)	**100**	**(100)**

Democratic rookie Vivien Bronshvag, nicknamed "the flying duchess" by Capitol staffers who felt she treated them like serfs, was the only incumbent to lose a primary in 1994, defeated by Novato school board member Kerry Mazzoni. Unlike 1992, when Bronshvag spent liberally to win the seat, her money wasn't enough to

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Bronshvag

Mazzoni

overcome the plethora of bad publicity that dogged her during the campaign. Although she won endorsements from the Sierra Club and NOW, voters were subjected to endless publicity regarding Bronshvag's several speeding violations and her poor showing in a *California Journal* survey of the Legislature. The depth of displeasure with Bronshvag surfaced when she lost her home county, Marin, although she did better in the Sonoma portion of her district. Bronshvag blamed her defeat on an anti-incumbent mood among voters, although hers was the only district where it manifested in defeat of the incumbent. For her part, Mazzoni took the fight directly to Bronshvag in debates and in the media.

District 7 (56% D - 32% R)		
V.Brown (D)*	**31,037**	**(77)**
Demuth (D)	9,293	(23)
Riley (R)	8,996	(40)
Williams (R)	**13,772**	**(60)**
Sutley (P)	**119**	**(100)**

As she did in 1992, incumbent Democrat Valerie Brown stomped Ernie Demuth, a retired school teacher and Napa Valley College trustee, in the primary. On the Republican side, Roger Williams, a district manager for Farmers Insurance, was charged with sexual and religious discrimination by a woman he supervised for seven years. He may overcome the charges but he won't overcome Brown.

District 8 (52% D - 33% R)		
Hannigan (D)*	**29,559**	**(100)**
Clift (R)	8,726	(40)
Stocking (R)	**13,189**	**(60)**

Republican Bryant Stocking won his primary. Thomas Hannigan will win the election.

District 9 (65% D - 24% R)		
Isenberg (D)*	**30,844**	**(100)**
Lofton (R)	**13,207**	**(100)**

Until 1992, incumbent Phil Isenberg got himself re-elected in a much tougher district than this one.

District 10 (46% D - 43% R)		
Wishnick (D)	**26,729**	**(100)**
Bowler (R)*	**32,986**	**(100)**
Rakus (AI)	**352**	**(100)**

In this year of the crime issue, incumbent Republican Larry Bowler would seem to have the upper hand, given that he's a former Sacramento sheriff's lieutentant. But Republicans have put the district on their "watch" list nonetheless, and that may be a tribute to Democrat Kathleen Wishnick's own anti-crime credentials as a former program trainer and organizer for the state Department of Justice. What Republicans probably will "watch" is Bowler outspend Wishnick by the buck-*etful; he raised $76,880 to her $15,311* in the first five months of the year.

District 11 (55% D - 31% R)		
Campbell (D)*	**31,414**	**(100)**
Coughlin (P)	**69**	**(100)**

Incumbent Bob Campbell hasn't had a Republican opponent since the sun set on the British Empire.

District 12 (61% D - 19% R)		
Burton (D)*	**26,733**	**(100)**
Wing (R)	**6077**	**(100)**
Sherwood (L)	**173**	**(100)**

Incumbent John Burton gets one more time around the block before term limits jettison this phase of his career. Oh, Johnny, we're gonna miss ya.

District 13 (65% D - 15% R)		
W.Brown (D)*	**28,513**	**(100)**
Wolin (R)	**4,711**	**(100)**
Pickens (L)	**224**	**(100)**

The ultimate target of term limits seeks *his 16th and final term in the Assembly.* When he goes in 1996, he will take with him a record speakership tenure that will never be broken. In fact, he will take with him the speakership as we have known it. Never again in an era of term limits will one member of the Assembly wield so much power. Depending on one's perspective, that could be the good news or the bad news.

District 14 (71% D - 12% R)		
Bates (D)*	**45,321**	**(100)**
Anderson (R)	**7,368**	**(100)**
Chapot (G)	**747**	**(56)**
None (G)	579	(44)

Incumbent Tom Bates will win the district. Unless, of course, there is a mass exodus of Democrats to the Green Party.

District 15 (39% D - 48% R)		
Kearns (D)	**24,281**	**(100)**
Rainey (R)*	**36,543**	**(100)**

Incumbent Richard Rainey, who spent 31 years as a popular Contra Costa sheriff, will have no trouble holding on to the East Bay seat he inherited from Republican Bill Baker, now a member of Congress.

District 16 (70% D - 16% R)		
Lee (D)*	**30,554**	**(100)**
Ham-Lamme (R)	**7013**	**(100)**

Barbara Lee is, uh, safe.

District 17 (54% D - 37% R)		
Machado (D)	**22,946**	**(100)**
***Simas* (R)**	**18,105**	**(100)**

Machado

Simas

By most any measure, this ought to be a Democratic district. Before reapportionment, it was held by Democrat Pat Johnston. But since Johnston's departure for the Senate, Democrats have managed to punt it. First, they nominated Patti Garamendi, John's wife and arguably one of the more unpopular Central Valley candidates to come down the pike in a long time. She was defeated by Republican Dean Andal. Two years ago, the Democratic nominee was Mike Machado, a farmer and former president of the local farm bureau who failed to receive the farm bureau endorsement. Machado lost a squeaker to Andal — a result decided only after absentee ballots had been counted. If Machado gained any satisfaction from that loss it was the knowledge that the delay in determining a winner probably cost Andal the post of Assembly minority leader. Andal now has moved on to run for Board of Equalization, and Machado is back after having worked the district for the past two years. Republicans, however, aren't rolling over and have a formidable candidate in Ed Simas, a San Joaquin County supervisor. Simas heads into the fall campaign with $127,306, compared with $11,000 for Machado who also is $68,000 in debt. This should prove one of the hottest Central Valley races.

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District 18 (60% D - 26% R)

Sweeney (D)	**24,933**	**(100)**
Grundmann (R)	**11,108**	**(100)**

Vacated by Democrat Johan Klehs, who sought a seat on the Board of Equalization, this seat will soon be filled by Hayward Mayor Mike Sweeney. Sweeney is such a strong candidate that no other Democrat bothered to file for the primary.

District 19 (55% D - 30% R)

Speier (D)*	**30,680**	**(100)**
Reichard (P)	**36**	**(100)**

At least something will be easy for incumbent Jackie Speier this year.

District 20 (50% D - 33% R)

Figueroa (D)	**12,293**	**(53)**
Gunn (D)	2,205	(10)
Livengood (D)	8,694	(37)
Cundiff (R)	3,513	(25)
Haggerty (R)	**5,838**	**(42)**
King (R)	4,612	(33)
Savage (L)	**170**	**(100)**

This seat opened when incumbent Democrat Delaine Eastin left to run for superintendent of public instruction. The Democratic primary featured a close tussle between Democratic activist Liz Figueroa and Milpitas Councilman Bob Livengood. Despite local reports that Livengood caught Figueroa reversing her positions on gun control and the death penalty, Figueroa was the clear choice of local Democratic prominents, namely Senate pro Tem Bill Lockyer. A Latina, she also earned the backing of Assemblyman Richard Polanco. She will be facing newcomer Scott Haggerty, a trucking company executive who bested veteran candidate Lowell King in the Republican primary; the other GOP hopeful, Winfred Cundiff, dropped out and endorsed Haggerty. So far, Figueroa and Haggerty have had only nice things to say about each other, but it's early. Figueroa has more money; she spent roughly $155,000 in the primary to Haggerty's $23,000. Veteran Sacramento consultant Richie Ross also is handling her campaign. Haggerty has lived in the district for 34 years and claims he will soon garner support from Sacramento Republicans, but this district as yet isn't on the GOP's radar screen.

District 21 (48% D - 36% R)

Sher (D)*	**30,790**	**(100)**
Hawkins (R)	9019	(40)
Mills (R)	**13,264**	**(60)**

Republican William Mills, an electrical engineer from Palto Alto, won the primary. Now all he has to do is defeat incumbent Democrat Byron Sher. And the envelope please ...

District 22 (49% D - 34% R)

Vasconcellos (D)*	**24,856**	**(100)**
Dowdy (R)	**9,354**	**(53)**
Piszkiewicz (R)	8,318	(47)

Incumbent John Vasconcellos will be facing a challenge from Karin Dowdy of Saratoga, a Republican community college trustee who has run for local office in the past. Dowdy only spent $5000 in the primary and concedes that she will not be able to raise the funds that Vasconcellos will command. She hopes to take the vote based on a grassroots campaign and local name recognition. Unfortunately, she's up against a Democrat with *real* name recognition.

District 23 (60% D - 24% R)

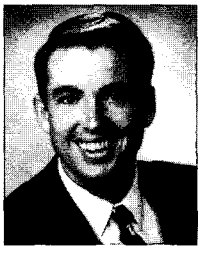
Combs (D)	5,498	(29)
Cortese (D)*	**13,565**	**(71)**
Jewett (R)	**5,726**	**(100)**
Fitzgerald (G)	**90**	**(73)**
None (G)	33	(27)

Incumbent Dominic Cortese takes a final advantage of the largesse of his Democratic neighbor — John Vasconcellos — who took the tougher of the two San Jose districts following the 1991 reapportionment.

District 24 (44% D - 41% R)

Foglia (D)	**23,179**	**(100)**
Cunneen (R)	**20,737**	**(79)**
Stallard (R)	5,573	(21)

Foglia



Cunneen

This seat was vacated when Republican incumbent Charles Quackenbush ran for insurance commissioner. Since registration favors Republicans and the district has been represented by the GOP for many years, Jim Cunneen might be able to coast. After all, he boasts the support of three of his former bosses — state Senator Tom Campbell, former Senator Becky Morgan and former Congressman Ed Zschau. And he avoided any kind of serious primary. But this will be no cakewalk for Cunneen, for the Democratic nominee is Ed Foglia, former president of the California Teachers' Association. The battle is uphill for Foglia, but over the years Democrats have shown a propensity for ambushing complacent Republicans in districts like these. Cunneen doesn't plan to take anything for granted.

District 25 (48% D - 41% R)

Snyder (D)*	**26,962**	**(100)**
House (R)	**27,584**	**(100)**
Segalla (L)	**114**	**(100)**

Snyder

House

Incumbent Margaret Snyder has reason to be worried. A former Modesto school board member, she occupies a seat Republicans think belongs to them and they've placed it high on their target list. Their standard-bearer is George House, an almond farmer and retired CHP commander who came in fourth in a six-candidate GOP primary in 1992.

District 26 (54% D - 35% R)

Cannella (D)*	**17,815**	**(100)**
Parks (L)	**78**	**(100)**

Parks takes a left to the jaw, a right to the ear. Body blows, body blows, body blows. Another hook to the jaw. Parks stumbles against the ropes. Cannella swarms. Oh, it's too awful to watch.

District 27 (51% D - 31% R)

Monning (D)	**24,430**	**(62)**
O'Boyle (D)	14,851	(38)
McPherson (R)*	**24,906**	**(100)**
Welch (L)	**407**	**(100)**

Republicans aren't the only ones who often nominate the wrong candidate for the wrong district. Democrats are equally capable of it, and this may be the proof. GOP Incumbent Bruce McPherson took this seat in a special election after the previous incumbent, Democrat Sam Farr, left for Congress.

McPherson

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He won because he is a moderate Republican and the Democratic nominee, Gary Patton, was seen as too liberal. That's why some Democrats pinned their hopes for winning back the district on Cathy O'Boyle, former aide to Senator Henry Mello and a moderate. Unfortunately, O'Boyle lost the primary to liberal Bill Monning, a Salinas attorney and an activist for farm labor and other minority causes. Monning has shown that he can raise money — $150,000 in just seven weeks and without PAC donations. He's going to need much more than than, however, because Republicans have placed McPherson at the very top of their "protect" list. There was early speculation that if Monning defeated O'Boyle, Sacramento Democrats would spend their money elsewhere. But Monning's ability to seed his own campaign may mean a second look. If they step in, this one will be hot and expensive.

District 28 (52% D - 34% R)

Cervantes (D)	**10,062**	**(40)**
English (D)	4,491	(18)
Graves (D)	6,791	(27)
Kennedy (D)	3,716	(15)
Frusetta (R)	**7,914**	**(41)**
Gilmore (R)	4,513	(23)
Winter (R)	7,085	(36)

Frusetta

This is another open seat, made so when incumbent Democrat Rusty Areias ran for controller. Lily Cervantes, a Salinas attorney, captured the Democratic nomination after a spirited primary with Mike Graves, chairman of the San Benito County Board of Supervisors. Cervantes is a former coastal commissioner, which isn't necessarily a plus in a rural, conservative district. She'll face Peter Frusetta, a rancher and businessman from Tres Pinos, who will be making his second run for the seat. He lost to Areias in 1992 after a nasty campaign punctuated by his campaign manager's charge that Areias was a drug user. Frusetta had to apologize for the remark. Without Areias, legislative Republicans feel this is a competitive race and will come a-gunnin'.

District 29 (44% D - 46% R)

O'Hare (D)	**21,074**	**(100)**
Poochigian (R)	**28,848**	**(100)**

Incumbent Republican Bill Jones is vacating this seat to run for secretary of state, and his heir apparent is Chuck Poochigian, a college chum who is Governor Pete Wilson's one-time appointments secretary. A recent fund raiser featured former Governor George Deukmejian, who has helped Poochigian raise a chunk of his nearly $200,000 war chest. Michael O'Hare, a Fresno school trustee, lost a bid for the Fresno City Council last year.

District 30 (55% D - 34% R)

Batrich (D)	**6,549**	**(39)**
Eubanks (D)	5,749	(34)
Scalzo (D)	4,503	(27)
Knost (R)	2,971	(19)
Neill (R)	3,886	(25)
Setencich (R)	**8,407**	**(55)**

Batrich

Setencich

Although registration in this Central Valley seat gives Democrats an edge, both parties plan to make a spirited reach for this open seat — long held by Democrat Jim Costa, who's running for the Senate. Bryn Batrich, Costa's former legislative aide and also a former congressional aide, squeezed out two primary opponents, including Madera Mayor Marc Scalzo. On the Republican side, Fresno Councilman Brian Setencich stomped the opposition. Despite registration, district voters have given the nod to a host of Republicans in the past, including George Bush and Bruce Herschensohn in 1992. To get ready for the fall, some Sacramento Democrats have tried to portray Batrich as more conservative than Setencich — a notion greeted as ludicrous by District 30 locals.

District 31 (61% D - 29% R)

Bustamante (D)*	**14,699**	**(100)**
Peterson (R)	**9,946**	**(100)**

Republican Glen Peterson, a Tulare County sheriff's deputy, is hoping for the votes of "Reagan Democrats" to unseat incumbent Cruz Bustamante. Sure.

District 32 (41% D - 48% R)

Keally (D)	**18,770**	**(100)**
Harvey (R)*	**31,180**	**(100)**

Bakersfield's good ol' boy Republican, Trice Harvey, will return for a final appearance in Sacramento.

District 33 (43% D - 44% R)

Ashbaugh (D)	**25,242**	**(100)**
Bordonaro (R)	**16,544**	**(43)**
Colman (R)	2,730	(7)
Gray (R)	11,733	(30)
Holmdahl (R)	4,285	(11)
Howell (R)	792	(2)
Miller (R)	1,093	(3)
Norris (R)	1,719	(4)
Kirkland (L)	**193**	**(100)**

In this hotly contended GOP primary, everyone was placing their bets on attorney Joni Gray. She had all the key endorsements, raised the most money and was one of the few candidates who was not from the religious right. But she was flat out-campaigned by farmer Tom Bordonaro, who never stopped pounding the pavement and who received considerable support from the right. The seat is open because incumbent Andrea Seastrand ran for Congress, and there is no reason to doubt that Bordonaro will replace her in the Assembly.

District 34 (39% D - 47% R)

Hauk (D)	**17,208**	**(100)**
Olberg (R)	**20,591**	**(65)**
Rothschild (R)	11,129	(35)

When freshman incumbent Kathleen Honeycutt decided not to run again for health reasons, she announced her decision days before the intent-to-file deadline. Keith Olberg, 32, however, had a little advance notice, and his immediate endorsement by Honeycutt smacked of baton-passing. While both GOP candidates are appropriately conservative, Olberg's advantage proved telling. The 50ish Rothschild, who was forced to scramble for endorsements and contributions, couldn't overcome Olberg's head start, despite Rothschild's experience on the Victorville City Council. Olberg, a consultant to the Building Industry Association, outspent him more than two-to-one. He'll have little trouble against Hauk this fall.

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District 35 (47% D - 37% R)

Lorenz (D)	**17,943**	**(58)**
Ream (D)	12,888	(42)
Firestone (R)	**28,392**	**(100)**
Blunt (L)	**205**	**(100)**
Stafford (G)	**498**	**(85)**

Incumbent Democrat Jack O'Connell is running for state Senate, leaving his seat open. On the Republican side is Brooks Firestone, a vineyard owner who can afford to finance his own campaign. Local Republicans have been trying to get Firestone back into the ring ever since he lost to O'Connell in 1982, and this time he's supported by the likes of Gerald Ford and Walter Annenberg. On the Democratic side is Mindy Lorez, a former welfare mother and a founder of the local Green Party. She knocked off Bob Ream, an aide to the area's popular senator, Gary Hart. But local sources say Hart didn't work hard enough for Ream, and Lorenz parlayed her grass-roots ability into something of an ambush. Lorenz is expected to attack Firestone as being just another rich guy living in the mountains, trying to buy his way into office. That message could strike a chord with local voters, many of whom are still smarting over the defection of another rich guy who bought an office — Congressman Michael Huffington, who ran for the U.S. Senate after less than one term in the House.

District 36 (36% D - 51% R)

Hutchins (D)	**12,923**	**(100)**
Knight (R)*	**22,265**	**(100)**
Fussell (L)	**123**	**(100)**

Rookie Pete Knight has not proved one of the Legislature's shining lights, but it won't matter.

District 37 (41% D - 44% R)

Maron (D)	**16,454**	**(100)**
Takasugi (R)*	**23,282**	**(100)**
Harner (L)	**137**	**(100)**

Incumbent Nao Takasugi, the Legislature's only Asian member, is matched up against an old foe in Dorothy Maron, who served with him on the Oxnard City Council. Takasugi should have no trouble.

District 38 (41% D - 46% R)

Arce (D)	**10,040**	**(55)**
Cocquyt (D)	8,167	(45)
Boland (R)*	**22,568**	**(100)**
Wilken (G)	**84**	**(82)**

If he moves to an area more hospitable to Democrats, Josh Arce could be a name for the future. The 18-year-old UCLA freshman pounded the pavement, worked his local party organization, and even sent out a mailer. For his trouble, he won the Democratic primary against Donald Cocquyt, a workers-comp lawyer nearly twice his age. Arce has no chance against Boland in the heavily GOP district in the Valley, but he struck a blow for Generation X.

District 39 (62% D - 26% R)

Katz (D)*	**12,182**	**(100)**
Fitzgerald (R)	**5,859**	**(100)**

The general election will be only slightly more taxing for incumbent Richard Katz than the primary, in which he was uncontested.

District 40 (56% D - 30% R)

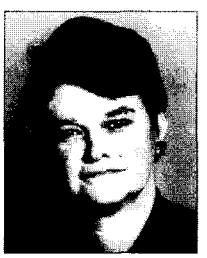
B.Friedman (D)*	**17,988**	**(100)**
Degaetano (R)	**10,617**	**(100)**
Ross (L)	**121**	**(100)**

Incumbent Barbara Friedman is viewed by some as a little too liberal for her working-class district, but registration and her previous success make her a prohibitive favorite over Noel Degaetano.

District 41 (51% D - 36% R)

Diamond (D)	4,483	(12)
Kuehl (D)	**15,167**	**(41)**
McGuire (D)	4,455	(12)
Rothbard (D)	5,517	(15)
Shallman (D)	1,903	(5)
Tabash (D)	5,788	(16)
Eason (R)	8,532	(38)
Meehan (R)	**14,101**	**(62)**
Baron (L)	208	(100)

When veteran Assemblyman Terry Friedman decided to give up his seat to run for a judgeship, the Democratic race to replace him figured to be a wide open war. In the end, however, victory proved surprisingly easy for Sheila James Kuehl, a lawyer, law professor, and women's and children's rights activist. Being the only woman running against five men was enough to make Kuehl stand out in the race, but she also benefited from a disciplined, methodical organization. She raised more money than her opponents, built a broad support base, and won some key early endorsements, among them Senator Barbara Boxer. As if that all weren't enough, Kuehl also provided a little Hollywood dash: Fans of '60s sitcoms will remember her as "Zelda Gilroy," the ardent, brainy suitor of TV's "Dobie Gillis." Three of Kuehl's chief opponents — lawyers Bill Rothbard and Ed Tabash and businessman Pat McGuire — all ran similar campaigns, courting conservative Democrats with talk of crime and immigration. Environmental lawyer Roger Diamond couldn't scrounge up the money to be competitive, and former Richard Riordan campaign aide John Shallman's pitch to conservative Valley voters fizzled. Kuehl's victory puts her one large step closer to making history as the first openly homosexual member of the California Legislature. Republican winner Michael Meehan, a law student and reserve deputy sheriff, raised only a few thousand dollars and is not even on the radar screen of the Assembly's GOP leadership. Although he says he will make Kuehl's sexual orientation an issue, incumbent Friedman has been visibly supportive of gay rights in the Legislature.



Kuehl

District 42 (59% D - 25% R)

Duran (D)	4,042	(10)
Knox (D)	**8,836**	**(22)**
Koretz (D)	6,534	(16)
Lake (D)	5,358	(13)
Land (D)	6,344	(16)
Margolin (D)	3,962	(10)
Slavkin (D)	5,293	(13)
Davis (R)	**9,938**	**(100)**
Fine (L)	**138**	**(100)**

This Beverly Hills, Hollywood, Westside district has more ambitious Democratic pols than just about any district in the state, and many came out of the woodwork when incumbent Burt Margolin announced for insurance commissioner. The district has been considered an enclave of rich white liberals, but when the votes were tallied, it was the candidate with the conservative message who took the primary. Wally Knox, a trustee on the Los Angeles Community College District, loaned himself close to $200,000, raised more and spent it all touting a pro-death penalty, pro-"three strikes" agenda. The message hit all the

Knox

Slavkin

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right fear buttons. West Hollywood City Council members Paul Koretz and Abbe Land, and Los Angeles School Board member Mark Slavkin also spent heavily, but found themselves boxed in by soft-on-crime positions. Gay civil rights lawyer John Duran figured to have strong backing among West Hollywood's large gay community, but the district's lesbian community forced him to share key organizational endorsements with straight feminist Land. While his spending was more than competitive, Duran could do no better than fifth, finishing behind environmentalist Laura Lake. The race may have been the most expensive in the state — five candidates spent more than $100,000, and at least two were in the $200,000-plus range. The primary essentially ends the race.

District 43 (44% D - 41% R)

Freis (D)	2,757	(17)
Kulpa (D)	1,895	(11)
Schiff (D)	**11,926**	**(72)**
Morelli (R)	2,005	(10)
Pietroforte (R)	428	(2)
Repovich (R)	1,765	(9)
Rogan (R)*	**13,604**	**(68)**
Wallis (R)	720	(4)
Wu (R)	1,620	(8)
Michlin (L)	**157**	**(100)**

The Republican primary was over a month ago when voters went to the

Schiff

Rogan

polls in a May 3rd special election to replace Republican Pat Nolan, who had resigned after pleading guilty to federal corruption charges. In that special, Municipal Court Judge James Rogan had last-minute support from Assembly Minority Leader Jim Brulte's office and from Allied Business PAC to emerge with more than 50 percent of the vote in a field of seven, thus avoiding a run off. His surprise victory gave him the status of incumbent, and subsequently the privilege of protection from Sacramento; several days later major opponents Julia Wu and the well-funded Peter Repovich dropped out. Federal prosecutor Adam Schiff has been the Democratic front-runner from the beginning and may be able to make November's race interesting. Although the district leans Republican, it also voted for Bill Clinton, Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer in 1992. Schiff's chief consultant, Parke Skelton, believes he can run the same kind of campaign that brought Democrat Debra Bowen to office over a conservative Republican in District 53 two years ago, painting Rogan as a far-right candidate more conservative than his constituency. But Rogan will have plenty of money from Sacramento, and this is the same district that elected Pat Nolan time after time.

District 44 (45% D - 42% R)

Philpott (D)	**16,039**	**(100)**
Hoge (R)*	**24,565**	**(100)**
Saurenman (L)	**201**	**(100)**

Democrats consider this Pasadena district their best chance to steal a seat

Philpott

Hoge

from the GOP. Despite favorable registration, incumbent Bill Hoge polled only 51 percent in his maiden run two years ago against a Democrat who spent a mere $5000. His first term has been undistinguished, and his primary battle two years ago put him at odds with district moderates. Democrats, meanwhile, have nominated an attractive candidate in Bruce Philpott, the popular former police chief of Pasadena. Philpott one-ups the conservative Hoge on the crime issue, and gives the Democrats a personality to run against the somewhat colorless Hoge. The Assembly GOP caucus has made defending Hoge one of its top priorities. All-out war.

District 45 (62% D - 22% R)

Burton (D)	924	(6)
Mabie (D)	5,334	(33)
Molina (D)	1,405	(9)
Quintana (D)	407	(3)
Villaraigosa (D)	**7,949**	**(50)**
Jung (R)	**4,121**	**(100)**
Probst (L)	**79**	**(100)**

District 45 provided one of the more interesting primaries in years in the Latino enclaves of Los Angeles that

Villaraigosa

Mabie

have seen epic battles between two camps jockeying for primacy in the community — one led by Assemblyman Richard Polanco, Senator Art Torres and Councilman Richard Alatorre, and the other by Supervisor Gloria Molina. The two sides fought hammer-and-tong in 1992 primaries, but this year was said to produce a fitful peace. Molina, for one, swore off meddling in legislative primaries. Polanco, on the other hand, was busy at least in his home District 45. A candidate for the Senate, his parting gift to AD 45 was his chief aide, Bill Mabie, as his replacement. Mabie, however, despite a fluency in Spanish, is Anglo, and Polanco's attempts to foist him on the district did not sit well with many area Latinos, or with legislative Democrats who remembered Polanco's often eloquent pleas for support on behalf of other Latinos running against Anglos elsewhere in California. Polanco invested substantial revenue and prestige in Mabie, but his effort was finally sandbagged by — of all people — Molina, who must have relished the chance to inflict a wound on Polanco in his own backyard. The powerful supervisor had rushed in with $10,000 worth of last-second help that cemented the win for Antonio Villaraigosa, who most observers concede had led from the start. He had a substantial fund-raising base and endorsements from labor, teachers and much of the area's Latino establishment. Still, Mabie ran a vigorous door-to-door campaign and distributed a 60-page booklet to voters, but his effort turned nasty toward the end when Polanco financed and signed a series of hit pieces on Villaraigosa, paying for the mail with his California Latino PAC. The mail referred to Villaraigosa as a criminal for his 1977 arrest on assault charges, which had been dismissed years ago. The negatives backfired, and Mabie — despite Polanco's help — finished a distant second. The race now is over; Republican Robert Jung won't be a problem in the fall.

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District 46 (65% D - 20% R)

Caldera (D)*	**6,129**	**(100)**
Yang (R)	**1,732**	**(100)**
Williams (P)	**34**	**(100)**

Youthful-looking incumbent Louis Caldera won't even get his hair mussed in November.

District 47 (75% D - 14% R)

Gibbs (D)	6,305	(16)
Gray (D)	6,477	(17)
Johnson (D)	6,483	(17)
Kimble (D)	3,021	(8)
Liss (D)	482	(1)
Murray (D)	**8,121**	**(21)**
Roberson (D)	1,320	(3)
Shaw (D)	5,441	(14)
Thompson (D)	693	(2)
Brundo (R)	2,697	(43)
Leonard (R)	**3,611**	**(57)**
Murphy (L)	**83**	**(100)**
Taleebah (P)	**62**	**(100)**

Johnson

Murray

Shaw

Gray

Gwen Moore's decision to run for secretary of state provided a rare opportunity for a hungry new generation of Democratic African-American community leaders to advance their careers. Of the nine people who ran to replace Moore, six had serious credentials and at least some base of support from which to launch a campaign. In the end, the race was won in the mailboxes of the district's African-American voters, and the man who won the battle was entertainment lawyer Kevin Murray, son of Assemblyman Willard Murray Jr. The elder Murray has built something of a political fiefdom in South Central, thanks in large measure to an increasingly potent slate mailer. As the man who ran the slate-card operation, son Kevin knew its power, and used his presence on that mailer to leverage appearances on other slate mailers in the district. Both father and son worked Sacramento heavily and secured the help of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. and other Black legislators. Murray's victory came at the expense of the once-mighty Berman-Waxman machine, which worked hard on behalf of Ed Johnson, an aide to Congressman Julian Dixon. Johnson counted on the Berman-Waxman connection to win him the substantial white, Jewish vote on the Westside and Culver City, but those voters were also courted by Murray and two other candidates — former U.S. Senate aide Geoff Gibbs and community activist Valerie Shaw. Gibbs outspent all the candidates, but while the spending was enough to build his name recognition, it wasn't enough to help him break out of the pack. Shaw's finish was a particular disappointment; critics say she traded too heavily on the reputation of her late father, who was Los Angeles' first Black postmaster. Teacher's union activist Jimmie Woods-Gray's third-place showing was surprisingly high and is credited to strong support from organized labor and her friends in the state party hierarchy. A sixth major candidate, lawyer Marsha Kimble, finished well back of the pack. Murray's primary victory essentially ends the campaign.

District 48 (87% D - 5% R)

Archie-Hudson (D)*	**13,996**	**(100)**

One candidate. One primary. One winner. Next.

District 49 (60% D - 26% R)

Chu (D)	6,803	(33)
Martinez (D)*	**10,932**	**(53)**
Torres (D)	3,009	(15)
Nirschl (R)	**6,925**	**(100)**
Goldsworthy (L)	**36**	**(100)**

Martinez

Chu

For a while, it looked as though Monterey Park Councilwoman Judy Chu really had a chance of beating Democratic incumbent Dianne Martinez. Chu was a tireless fund raiser, amassing nearly $300,000 by the time election day rolled around — a significant feat while running against a sitting incumbent. Martinez had made herself unpopular both with district activists, by endorsing Republican mayoral candidate Richard Riordan, and in the Capitol with an abrasive personal style. Fundraising problems were illustrated by the need for a last-minute $1000-per-head function in Sacramento, an astonishing sum for a first-termer. Chu sent out at least 11 mailers over the course of the campaign, including several that cited a *California Journal* survey placing Martinez near the bottom among rated legislators. Martinez responded angrily, telling reporters that Chu should have waited for the seat to open up before running, and sending out a slick six-page "Oh Judy Chu, She's Fooling You" booklet defending her record and touting endorsements by the California Teachers' Association and law-enforcement organizations. But when election day came, the dynamics of the district probably served Martinez as well as any campaign effort. While there is a large Asian population in Monterey Park, that community's registration is not predominantly Democratic. Latinos, on the other hand, are a powerful Democratic force.

District 50 (67% D - 20% R)

Escutia (D)*	**8,119**	**(100)**
Miller (R)	**2,615**	**(100)**
Strowiss (P)	**37**	**(100)**

No contested primaries here, and not much of a general.

District 51 (71% D - 18% R)

Tucker (D)*	**19,492**	**(100)**
Michelin (R)	**5,485**	**(100)**

Republican Adam Michelin won't make incumbent Curtis Tucker Jr. break a sweat.

District 52 (80% D - 11% R)

Hamlin (D)	1,677	(9)
Moore (D)	5,948	(33)
Murray (D)*	**10,163**	**(57)**
Rorex (R)	**2,503**	**(100)**

For the second season in row, incumbent Willard Murray Jr. was in danger of losing his seat to former Compton Councilwoman Patricia Moore. But Moore was fighting several crippling obstacles this year: In the early stages of the campaign, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that she was one of several public officials targeted in an FBI investigation into corruption in the Compton City Hall. Adding injury to insult, Moore was faced with serious illness in her

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family late in the campaign, and was forced to split her time and attention.

District 53 (43% D - 41% R)

Bowen (D)*	**23,925**	**(100)**
Bohline (R)	11,373	(49)
Sirull (R)	**11,690**	**(51)**
Gaillard (L)	**216**	**(100)**
Bishop (P)	**79**	**(100)**

This was a cautionary tale on how to choose a ballot designation carefully. Neither David Bohline nor Julian Sirull raised much money; Bohline had enough cash to put his name on a few slates, and sent out a sprinkling of postcards, but neither candidate had the funds for anything close to a high-profile campaign. What tipped the scales for Sirull, observers say, may have been the way the two were listed on the ballot: While both are in the insurance business, Sirull chose the perennially safe "businessman;" Bohline, "casualty claims adjuster." With registration almost even in the district, Republicans would very much like to win this one back. But the conservative Sirull has not proven that he is able to raise sufficient funds on his own for a tight campaign, and incumbent Debra Bowen will be protected by Assembly Democrats. Bowen's 1992 victory came as something of a surprise, but she has proven to be an intelligent, hardworking legislator who is anything but a lock-step Democrat. Thus, the traditional Republican campaign bromide — tying a Democrat to Speaker Willie Brown's coattails — doesn't play well against Bowen. This one is targeted by the GOP, but Sirull may have to do the heavy lifting.

District 54 (45% D - 41% R)

Karnette (D)*	**25,987**	**(100)**
Earle (R)	14,231	(49)
Kuykendall (R)	**14,841**	**(51)**
Carlan (L)	**184**	**(100)**
McCoy (P)	**72**	**(100)**

Jeff Earle and Steven Kuykendall were both good candidates. Earle, the more conservative of the two, had the advantage of family money and connections to such GOP luminaries as Dana Rohrabacher, Bruce Herschensohn, and Ed Meese, all of whom showed up at fund raisers or distributed letters of support in his behalf. Although this gave Earle a thicker checkbook, Rancho Palos Verdes Councilman Kuykendall started out with considerably better name identification, and attracted the endorsement of former Governor

Earle

Kuykendall

George Duekmeijan. The two exchanged low-intensity mud in a series of mailers, with Earle accusing Kuykendall of raising taxes as a councilman and flip-flopping on the legislative pay raise issue, and Kuykendall responding that Earle was untested and had showed no public commitment — not to mention that he was single and lived at home with his mother. Kuykendall also provides stiffer competition for incumbent Betty Karnette. Both are moderates, but nearly even registration gives the Republican an edge, and legislative Republicans have placed this district high on their target list. Karnette will have help from Assembly Democrats and, as a former teacher, will be backed heavily by the deep-pocketed CTA. Spillover from the fiery 36th Congressional District may be a factor, but the race will probably hinge on who gets the most money and expertise from Sacramento.

District 55 (68% D - 20% R)

McDonald (D)*	**17,345**	**(100)**
Dalton (L)	**45**	**(100)**

No primary and not much of a general election challenge for incumbent Juanita McDonald.

District 56 (50% D - 38% R)

Epple (D)*	**21,960**	**(100)**
Dave (R)	995	(5)
Hawkins (R)	**13,592**	**(66)**
Wong (R)	5,948	(29)
Hays (L)	**104**	**(100)**

Epple

Hawkins

It's 1992 all over again. Republican Phil Hawkins handily beat physician Daniel Wong in the GOP primary and is setting his sights on incumbent Bob Epple. Hawkins lost to Epple by only 1400 votes last time around, and plans to run much the same campaign this year. Republicans believe that they can exploit Epple's position as chairman of the Assembly Public Safety Committee while the electorate's fear of crime is cresting; Epple will probably be portrayed not only as asleep at the wheel, but as the benefactor and patron saint of the state's criminal population. There will be a lot of money spent on this race; Epple will have the support of his caucus' leadership, but Hawkins is a favorite son of the well-financed Allied Business PAC, which has said they don't want to lose their past investment in him. The mailboxes will be flowing red with blood by November.

District 57 (57% D - 31% R)

Fellow (D)	6,063	(40)
Gallegos (D)	**6,588**	**(43)**
Storing (D)	2,627	(17)
Yik (R)	**7,039**	**(100)**
Argall (L)	**48**	**(100)**

Hilda Solis has held this seat for the past two years, and her departure opened the way for a primary slugfest. Tony Fellows did nearly twice as well this year as he did in 1992 against Solis, but it wasn't enough to defeat Baldwin Park Councilman Martin Gallegos. Gallegos had most of the area's Latino establishment behind him, and a strong advantage in fund raising. Fellows had the backing of ex-Assemblywoman Sally Tanner and low-profile candidate for insurance commissioner John Kraft. Fellows and Kraft each loaned the campaign $15,000 at the end, but Gallegos pulled through anyway.

District 58 (64% D - 26% R)

Napolitano (D)*	**18,241**	**(100)**
Marymee (R)	**8,906**	**(100)**
McCready (L)	**45**	**(100)**

Democratic incumbent Grace Napolitano doesn't have anything to worry about from challenger James Marynee.

District 59 (40% D - 48% R)

Ashley-Farrand (D)	**18,291**	**(100)**
Mountjoy (R)*	**27,616**	**(100)**

A solid Republican seat.

District 60 (44% D - 43% R)

Ramirez (D)	**15,485**	**(100)**
Horcher (R)*	**14,643**	**(70)**
Smith (R)	6,422	(30)
Welte (L)	**82**	**(100)**

Incumbent Paul Horcher got a bit beat up by challenger Robert Smith, but not enough to worry anyone. Smith had

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problems raising funds, and didn't really have a compelling reason to unseat the incumbent. Democratic political consultant Andrew Ramirez will have to make a good case to overcome the GOP's registration advantage.

District 61 (46% D - 43% R)

Silva (D)	**10,070**	**(100)**
Aguiar (R)*	**13,747**	**(100)**

Incumbent Fred Aguiar, considered among the top freshmen, will return to the Legislature next year.

District 62 (59% D - 31% R)

Baca (D)*	**13,351**	**(100)**
Hibbard (R)	**8,256**	**(100)**

Incumbent frosh Joe Baca's toughest campaigns are behind him.

District 63 (40% D - 48% R)

Edwards (D)	**15,646**	**(100)**
Brulte (R)*	**25,490**	**(100)**

The test for Minority Leader Jim Brulte comes not in his home district but elsewhere as his leadership team makes its first foray into the murky world of Assembly elections. His goal: to be speaker come December. To accomplish this end, he must devise a workable statewide strategy and distribute his resources so as to maximize GOP chances in a wide range of districts. Brulte has proven an adept leader of an often fractious, ideologically-riven caucus, but his ultimate challenge this fall is to drive the various elements of that caucus in one direction. Two years ago, Republicans punted whatever chance they had for control of the Assembly by nominating candidates who did not fit their constituencies. As a result, they lost districts in Long Beach, San Diego, Torrance and Modesto that ought to have gone to them. Whether Jim Brulte smiles on election night will not depend on his own re-election, but on how many of those districts return to the GOP fold.

District 64 (44% D - 44% R)

Meyer (D)	**16,189**	**(100)**
Weggeland (R)*	**20,760**	**(100)**
Henson (L)	**178**	**(100)**

Riverside and the surrounding territory will see some hot races this season, but Weggeland's isn't one of them.

District 65 (41% D - 46% R)

Desist (D)	5,760	(28)
Goldkorn (D)	7,097	(35)
Sandoval (D)	**7,428**	**(37)**
Bagley (R)	4,080	(13)
Bringhurst (R)	8,906	(28)
Franklin (R)	1,859	(6)
Granlund (R)	**9,757**	**(31)**
Hughes (R)	1,652	(5)
O'Brien (R)	3,366	(11)
Roloff (R)	405	(1)
Simmons (R)	1,490	(5)

Nothing is ever as it seems in this Inland Empire District. Two years ago, an unknown Democrat named Alice Robb copped 39 percent of the vote against incumbent Republican Paul Woodruff, even though Robb spent two cents on her election, never campaigned and worked the entire fall in far away Pasadena for Lyndon LaRouche. That experience may have convinced Woodruff to drop out of politics and return to the business world; Robb, meanwhile, has disappeared into the annals of political

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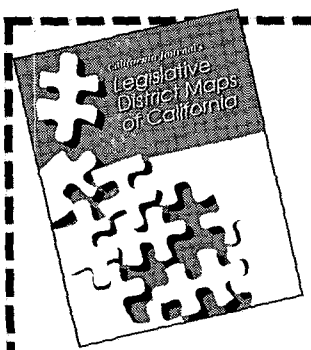

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Granlund

footnoting. The primary to replace Woodruff was a horse race, but Yucaipa City Councilman Brett Granlund edged out Moreno Valley businessman Mark Bringhurst, with a host of others finishing well behind. Conservative Granlund had a lot more money, outspending Bringhurst three-to-one. Bringhurst, who had the backing of Woodruff and the California Teachers Association, couldn't overcome the money gap. The presence of another conservative on the ballot — Twentynine Palms Councilman Jim Bagley — didn't siphon enough votes away from Granlund to make a difference. Richard Sandoval edged out the other two Democrats in June, but even if he repeats the remarkable 1992 performance of Alice Robb, he'll lose.

District 66 (34% D - 53% R)		
Hendrick (D)	**9,795**	**(55)**
Seifert (D)	7,987	(45)
Jeffries (R)	10,531	(28)
Padberg (R)	4,317	(12)
Thomas (R)	8,915	(24)
Thompson (R)	**13,550**	**(36)**
Wood (P)	**40**	**(100)**

Freshman Republican incumbent Ray Haynes left his seat open to run for the Riverside Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Robert Presley, and a slew of little-knowns stepped forward to replace him. At first blush, Haynes' successor seemed likely to be Trudy Thomas, a Haynes staffer and an ultra-conservative. But that was before anyone checked the candidates' checkbooks. Thomas wasn't a very accomplished fund raiser, while businessmen Bruce Thompson and firefighter Kevin Jeffries proved to be cash cows. Jeffries loaned himself $60,000 of his $77,000 total, but it wasn't enough to compete with Thompson's $100,000-plus. Thompson also received support from Senator Marian Bergeson, a Newport Beach Republican who shares Thompson's Mormon beliefs. Thomas tried to make Thompson's Mormon religion an issue, but her attacks appeared to fall flat. The primary decided the election.

District 67 (35% D - 51% R)		
Woolf-Willis (D)	**17,002**	**(100)**
Allen (R)*	**23,194**	**(66)**
Nottke (R)	12,009	(34)

Incumbent Doris Allen, who's been in the Assembly for a dozen years, fought her way through a three-incumbent primary in 1992, solidifying her reputation as a scrappy campaigner and fund raiser. The fact that no other incumbent was in the race this year didn't prevent another scrap, however. Allen has been rumored to be interested in the Senate seat now held by Republican Marian Bergeson, who's running for the Orange County Board of Supervisors. Allen's opponent will be Assemblyman Gil Ferguson, who's taken the moral high ground by not running again for

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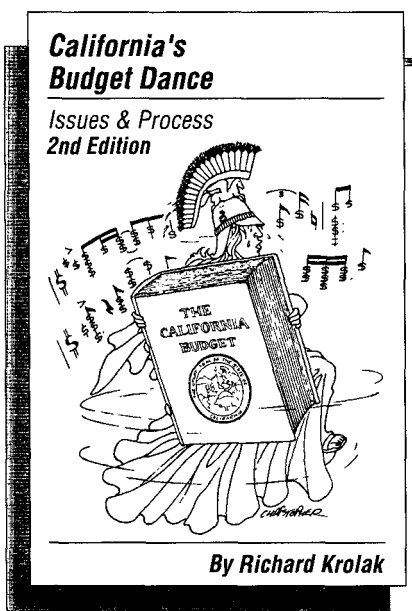

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By Richard Krolak

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his Assembly seat and sparing the county the cost of a special election. When former Ferguson staffer Tony Nottke decided to take on Allen, observers assumed Ferguson was pulling strings. Ferguson, however, loudly proclaimed his neutrality, even signing his name to an Allen endorsement letter. In the end, both Allen and Nottke accomplished their goals. Allen won, and will win in November; Nottke sowed the seeds of another candidacy once Allen moves on.

District 68 (42% D - 46% R)		
Pickler (D)	**8,986**	**(54)**
Rigney (D)	7,728	(46)
Pringle (R)*	**19,664**	**(100)**

Irv Pickler, a popular, longtime Anaheim councilman, was thought to be able to challenge incumbent Curt Pringle, who incurred the wrath of Democrats way back in 1988 when he first was elected to the Assembly in a race that featured his campaign hiring uniformed guards to patrol polling places on election day. Pickler was thought to be the easy Democratic winner, but the 70ish councilman was seriously injured in an auto accident this winter and could not mount a vigorous campaign. Fortunately for him, his opponent, Linda Rigney, cut back on her campaign while Pickler languished in the hospital, and he was able to eke out a less-than-impressive win. Pickler's campaign claims he's healthy again and ready to take on Pringle, although his handlers concede that the accident slowed him down. He'll need all his energy to unseat Pringle. Legislative Republicans aren't worried; this district is on their "safe" list.

District 69 (53% D - 36% R)		
Hernandez (D)	1,390	(15)
Metzler (D)	**3,338**	**(37)**
Moreno (D)	3,075	(34)
Patterson (D)	1,311	(14)
Ageson (R)	759	(8)
Buffin-Edge (R)	682	(8)
Morrissey (R)	**4,813**	**(53)**
Nickell (R)	2,825	(31)
Reis (L)	**61**	**(100)**

This is the only slice of Orange County favorable to a Democrat, and it's been held by Democrat Tom Umberg for the past four years. But Umberg is running for attorney general. Latino candidates would have an advantage here if they voted in large numbers, since two-thirds of the population is Latino. But only one-quarter of the voting population is Latino. Complicating matters for the Latino community were the spats between Democrats Zeke Hernandez and Ted Moreno. Hernandez has lost elections in the past, while Moreno had support from Latino powerhouses like Assemblyman Richard Polanco. After weeks of public disputes, the two split the Latino vote, allowing Umberg-endorsed Mike Metzler to eke out the win. Conservative Republican Jim Morrissey will have a tough time attracting moderate voters, especially considering Metzler's background as the president of the Santa Ana Chamber of Commerce.

Metzler

Morrissey

District 70 (30% D - 55% R)		
Toledano (D)	**14,074**	**(100)**
Brewer (R)	**13,856**	**(34)**
Hammond (R)	12,859	(32)
Reinecke (R)	13,606	(34)

Brewer

Oh, to be sandbagged in one's own backyard. It happened to Democrat Richard Polanco in the 45th District, and it happened to Republican incumbent Gil Ferguson in this district. Ferguson, who has held this seat 1984, decided not to seek re-election in anticipation of a run for the Orange County Board of Supervisors. He annointed a successor in Tom Reinecke, son of the former lieutenant governor. But in stepped another conservative — Irvine City Councilman Barry Hammond, a close friend of GOP Senator Rob Hurtt. As the two conservatives battled over the same right-wing turf, moderate Marilyn Brewer, an aide to Supervisor Tom Riley, slipped in the side door. The race was so close that Brewer had to wait several days to be declared the winner; all the absentee ballots had to be counted first. She won't have any trouble getting to Sacramento; Democrat Jim Toledano has been waging unsuccessful battles in these parts for years.

District 71 (30% D - 57% R)		
Costales (D)	**12,843**	**(100)**
Conroy (R)*	**31,055**	**(100)**

Very very very very very safe Republican.

District 72 (33% D - 55% R)		
Dollison (D)	**13,391**	**(100)**
Johnson (R)*	**30,211**	**(100)**
Braun (L)	**175**	**(100)**

After 16 years in the Assembly, this is the last time around for veteran Ross Johnson. Term limits, you know.

District 73 (31% D - 53% R)		
Walker (D)	**15,747**	**(100)**
Morrow (R)*	**31,673**	**(100)**
Hostler (L)	**227**	**(100)**
Rodriguez-Nikl (P)	**37**	**(100)**

Morrow will be here on the morrow.

District 74 (32% D - 50% R)		
Dennis (D)	**16,609**	**(100)**
Clayton (R)	7,961	(21)
Delaney (R)	6,112	(16)
Haidinger (R)	6,088	(16)
Kaloogian (R)	**11,281**	**(30)**
Schooler (R)	3,948	(10)
Templin (R)	2,426	(6)
Muhe (L)	**304**	**(100)**
Ferrari (P)	**51**	**(100)**

Tons of money was spent by Republicans in an effort to replace longtime incumbent Republican Bob Frazee. One candidate, millionaire Alan Uke, tripped at the wire when he failed to turn in enough valid signatures and was disqualified. Four of the others spent enough to make up for his absence, however. Fred Clayton, Tim Haidinger, Howard Kaloogian and Andrew Schooler all raised more than $100,000 each. Ronnie Delaney, a former mayor of Del Mar, didn't have as much money, but her name kept her competitive. But Kaloogian was the only monied conser-

Kaloogian

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vative in the race; the other, Diane Templin, had less than $20,000. Given the number of candidates, Kaloogian's margin of victory was comfortable. He's virtually elected now, given the GOP's lopsided registration edge.

District 75 (31% D - 51% R)		
Wodehouse (D)	**17,670**	**(100)**
Goldsmith (R)*	**35,188**	**(100)**
Anderson (L)	**339**	**(100)**
Archer (P)	**44**	**(100)**

Jan Goldsmith seemed to end his freshman term as everyone's favorite pariah. Won't matter.

District 76 (41% D - 42% R)		
Davis (D)	**22,555**	**(100)**
Robinson (R)	4,552	(18)
Saatjian (R)	9,277	(36)
Trettin (R)	**12,027**	**(47)**
Balistreri (L)	**298**	**(100)**
Lake (P)	**72**	**(100)**

Trettin

Incumbent Mike Gotch decided that the Napa Valley really was his home, so decided not to seek re-election in San Diego. The district on paper favors Republicans, and it takes a strong Democrat to win it. Gotch proved that kind of candidate, but it remains to be seen whether San Diego school board member Susan Davis can keep it in the Democratic column. Republicans would like to remove it. Businessman Bob Trettin will try to spend his way to victory. Look for immigration and crime to be salient issues here. To get on the ticket, Trettin, who has lost in local races before, defeated Ray Saatjian, a local flower grower and a cousin by marriage to former Governor George Deukmejian.

District 77 (40% D - 44% R)		
Connolly (D)*	**18,906**	**(100)**
Alexander (R)	8,575	(30)
Baldwin (R)	**19,653**	**(70)**

With conservative Republican Steve Baldwin's primary victory over Rick Alexander, the November election becomes a reprise of 1992, when Democrat Tom Connolly knocked off Baldwin in a close election. Republicans claim

Baldwin

Connolly

that Baldwin was "one mailer short" of defeating Connolly two years ago. Unfortunately, that mailer would have had to convince local voters that Baldwin wasn't a nut after he publicly charged that the Air Force employed an official witch. The Baldwin camp, including legislative Republicans, says its candidate is different this time around, and it spent a ton of money in the primary to convince local GOP voters. The ease of his primary win proves it was money well spent. At any rate, the Connolly camp is pleased with Baldwin's victory over Alexander, who is a moderate and may have been a more formidable foe. Not that Connolly himself enters the race sheet clean. Four female staffers recently quit, claiming sexual harrassment — a charge Connolly denied. Local papers also have been dredging up episodes from Connolly's past, including a since-defeated drug habit that Connolly confessed to in 1992. Finally, local media have questioned his appearance in the area's red-light district; Connolly denies he did anything wrong. With all of this ammo on both sides, and with plenty of money as fuel, the mud should fly thick and fast throughout the summer and fall.

District 78 (38% D - 43% R)		
Alpert (D)*	**23,727**	**(100)**
Henderson (R)	**25,747**	**(100)**
Fife (P)	**78**	**(100)**

Legislative Republicans are hot to take this district and like to tout the numbers. In an election briefing book, they point out that the territory that now is AD 78 voted for Pete Wilson over Dianne Feinstein in the 1990 race for governor. They cite this as evidence that attorney Bruce Henderson will knock off incumbent Democrat Dede Alpert. There are some other numbers, however, that Republicans don't tout. In that same 1990 election, Alpert knocked off an incumbent Republican assemblywoman in much the same district. In 1992 she crushed a former GOP assemblyman.

District 79 (56% D - 30% R)		
Ducheny (D)*	**6,882**	**(43)**
Nader (D)	4,178	(26)
Rodgers (D)	881	(6)
Valladolid (D)	1,360	(9)
Warren (D)	2,684	(17)
Vogel (R)	**6,922**	**(100)**
Faten (P)	**39**	**(100)**

Denise Ducheny essentially won this primary earlier this year when she defeated the same cast of characters in a special election to replace Democrat Steve Peace, who had been elected to the Senate. Republicans didn't run a candidate in the special, and they might as well not run one in November either given that the National Rifle Association backed Ducheny.

District 80 (49% D - 39% R)		
Bornstein (D)*	**19,635**	**(100)**
Battin (R)	**23,213**	**(100)**

Bornstein

Battin

First-term incumbent Julie Bornstein was named *California Journal's* "rookie of the year" recently, but that was the Sacramento insider's view and won't help her much come November. If anything, it redoubled the GOP's determination to defeat her. Its candidate is Jim Battin, a television advertising exec who should know a thing or two about self-promotion. Plus, he's hired Ray McNally's Sacramento firm to manage his campaign, and McNally has an impressive track record. The GOP plans to spend heavily for Battin, and it will be matched by Democrats. To win, Battin's main target may not be Bornstein but Speaker Willie Brown Jr., who elevated Bornstein to Democratic Caucus chairwoman — a move seen by many as grooming her as a future speaker. But the GOP has run against Willie Brown elsewhere over the years — with little success. At some point, Battin must convince locals that he will make a better legislator than Bornstein. And insider view or no insider view, Bornstein has proved to be a crackerjack lawmaker — a view the incumbent no doubt will broadcast to her constituents.

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Washington PERSPECTIVE

By Larry Liebert

Base-closure II

As California's economy struggles back from depression, President Bill Clinton keeps promising to do all he can to help. But less than a year from now, his administration promises to kick California in the teeth by announcing yet another round of military base closings. The near inevitability of more shutdowns to decide upon in 1995 — the year before the presidential election — doubtless has Clinton's political advisers cringing in horror.

THE SCENARIO MAY SEEM TIRESOME in its familiarity: Clinton's defense secretary will announce yet another list of bases that the Pentagon establishment no longer wants to maintain in this post-Cold War era. An independent commission, after months of hearings and with much earnestness, will tinker with the list and then pronounce it sound. Clinton and Congress will lament all the hardship the closings will cause, then proclaim they have no choice but to shut the bases under the all-or-nothing procedure that Congress created to insulate such closings from pork-barrel political pressures.

But this column isn't just a summer rerun of previous essays on the base-closing routine. And Californians, with their fragile economy and their still-huge defense infrastructure, dare not become blase about the continuing process. The biggest state can expect a hard hit from the 1995 round. The Pentagon and the next base-closing commission are likely to zero in immediately on some bases — notably Long Beach Naval Shipyard and McClellan Air Force Base in Sacramento — that barely escaped last year's hit list. Even more extraordinary: There are reports that the Pentagon's budget projections assume that the 1995 closings will dwarf previous efforts, perhaps costing as many jobs as the last three rounds put together.

What can a state — and the president who says he loves it — do about such a prospect? In recent weeks, the Pentagon's civilian leadership have prodded its uniformed brass into this formulation: The 1995 round of closings must go ahead. But there's no reason not to add a previously unscheduled round in 1997 as well. This would stretch out the considerable (and initially underestimated) cost of shutting down old bases and cleaning up the toxic swamps that fester beneath most of them. Perhaps not at all coincidentally, it would also allow postponing some of the political pain in California and other electorally crucial states until after the 1996 presidential election.

That may be the best the defenders of endangered bases can hope for. The Supreme Court this year refused to let the courts get involved in second-guessing the wisdom or fairness of the base-closing hit lists. And Congress does not appear ready to shoot a hole in the well-insulated base closure process by adopting proposals that the 1995 round be canceled or at least put off for a couple of years. California's Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein joined with Mississippi's Republican Senator Trent Lott recently in proposing legislation to do just that. This political odd couple wrote in a letter to colleagues, "Though we need to downsize our military in the aftermath of the Cold War, we believe that base closures are proceeding too rapidly."

But that idea already was rejected overwhelmingly, 68 to 362, when it was offered in the House by Utah Republican James V. Hansen as an amendment to the annual defense authorization bill.

Hansen complained of soaring costs — $12.6 billion so far — and a huge backlog in the job of closing bases previously targeted for oblivion. "Of the 147 bases slated for closure so far," he said, "only 46 of those closures have actually been completed." He charged that base closings are being used to produce unrealistic "paper savings supporting an underfunded defense budget."

Texas Republican Congressman Dick Armey, who created the existing base-closing process, defended his legislative progeny. Insisting that the Pentagon and Congress are indeed coughing up the funds needed to phase out doomed bases, Armey said, "The fact of the matter is, keeping bases open two more years will cost $9 billion.... Wasting that $9 billion will hurt our military readiness."

Among Californians in the House, not everyone played a predictable part. West Sacrmento Democrat Vic Fazio, said the Base Realignment and Closing (BRAC) process should not be tampered with despite the risk to McClellan in his home town. "My district has already been hit hard by two major base closures," Fazio said, "and with the '95 BRAC, we continue to live under the threat of the biggest closure yet, which in itself would affect 15,000 direct jobs. If anyone has a concern about BRAC, it's me."

On the other hand, Republican Duncan Hunter of El Cajon said he favored delaying the 1995 round because of doubts about clean-up costs and military strategy — even though San Diego's Navy complex, a district away from his own, is proving a big winner in the effort to consolidate naval operations into several megaports. "We have gained about 7000 jobs," Hunter said of the San Diego region, "and the parochial vote in San Diego is to support BRAC and try to get Long Beach closed down, which would bring another several thousand jobs to San Diego."

FOR HIS PART, CLINTON CAN ONLY DO HIS BEST to show he feels California's pain — and to hand out occasional consolation prizes for the bases being shuttered. In late May, he came to the new San Bernardino Airport, which used to be Norton Air Force Base, to announce it was one of the locations chosen for a new Defense Department accounting center. "The far more important thing we have done is to change the rules by which this base is given back to you," Clinton said, referring to his administration's efforts to speed the clean-up of bases and encourage their conversion to job-producing enterprises. "Because that empowers you to create your own future with a resource that rightfully belongs to you."

While he was at it, by the way, Clinton ad-libbed a curiously backhanded testament to the lobbying he gets on California's behalf from Democratic Senators Feinstein and Barbara Boxer. "If you thought that Senator Feinstein was being somewhat aggressive here on the public forum, that's nothing compared to what I hear in private," Clinton quipped. "If you've never been worked on by Feinstein and Boxer at one time, just imagine if someone took a huge fingernail file and applied it to your head, you know? Sooner or later you say, 'All right, whatever you want, take it and run.'"

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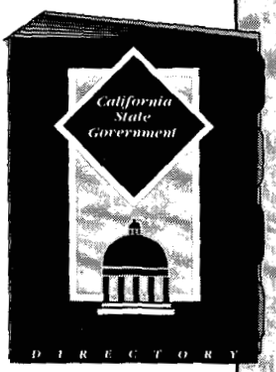

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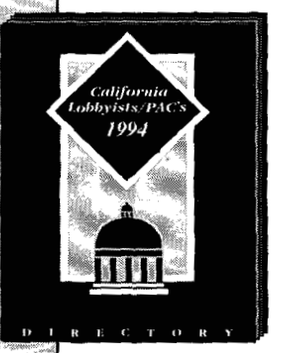

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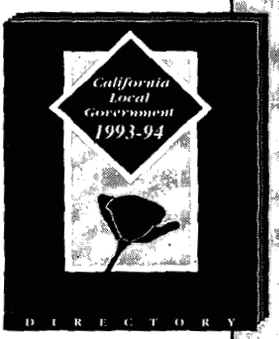

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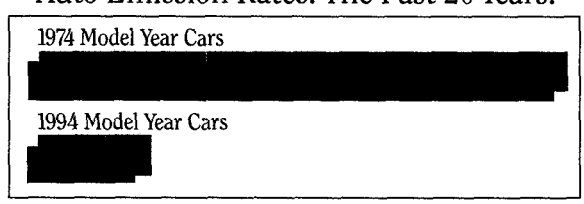

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